

IN THESE TIMES

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The Independent Socialist Newspaper

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Photo by Marc PoKempner



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In These Times photo by Jane Melnick



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NEWSFRONT

Carter: Up against the Big Steel

Familiar lame duck news

It all had a familiar ring last week. There was the Democratic president—in this case soon to be—on TV talking tough to Big Steel, which had earlier announced 6-percent steel-price increases. President-elect Carter said Nov. 29 that the half-dozen largest steel corporations should “take another look” at price hikes, because they would make it harder to “stabilize the inflationary spiral” and could be “a signal to OPEC nations” to raise oil prices, something they’re expected to do Dec. 20, which would be “very negative in its result.”

In 1961, early in his administration, another Democratic president, John F. Kennedy, had been put to the test by Big Steel too. He ignited a storm of protest by quoting his former-ambassador-father as saying all businessmen were “sons of bitches.”

The day before, Carter, in a telephone hookup to a national conference of locally elected black officials meeting in Denver, publicly thanked blacks for helping him. “It is appropriate that the first time I speak to any group after the election...is to those who have been instrumental in having me elected... Your assistance and the confidence in me you exhibited throughout the campaign will never be forgotten.”

Brightness receded two days later, however. “What seemed to be bad now seems worse,” Carter told Vice President-elect Mondale and Carter’s 16 closest economic advisers at his first briefing on the American and world economies.

The next day, Carter got an unprecedented assurance from Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party secretary, that Moscow will go out of its way to avoid any crises during Carter’s early months. Brezhnev told Carter, through William S. Simon, President Ford’s treasury secretary in Moscow on a visit, that Carter had Brezhnev’s “personal assurance that the Soviet Union had no such intentions and would in fact go out of its way to avoid any crisis or situation early in the administration that would give such an appearance.”

That move seemed familiar too. Early in the Kennedy administration, the East German government, backed by the Soviet Union had tested Kennedy by building the “Berlin Wall.”

Carter, it seemed, was getting more trouble from Big Steel than from Moscow.

Breakthrough and breakdown

In Geneva, Switzerland, things got bitter after a breakthrough. The breakthrough Nov. 26, according to British mediators, was that two of the participating leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, had agreed to a British formula fixing March 1, 1978, as the date for Rhodesian independence, thus signifying that the date issue would no longer hold up the continuation of the conference. Then, on Dec. 1, Pieter van der Byl, the Rhodesian foreign minister, opened his mouth and called Mugabe a “blood-thirsty Marxist puppet,” throwing everybody into a dither.

In Nairobi, Kenya, Nov. 30 the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) ended a five-week meetings on a harmonious note, with the African states playing a large middle-ground role between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Holding firm in London

In London that day, the Labor government submitted its “devolution” bill to

Parliament. Devolution is the granting of some home-rule powers to Scotland and Wales.

Nov. 29, Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.), head of the U.S. House Banking Committee, told Labor to stand firm on any spending cuts as the price of an International Monetary Fund \$4 billion loan. Three days later, Len Murray, head of the powerful British Trade Union Congress, told Labor, in a three-hour cabinet meeting, not to take the path of deflation by supporting de facto higher unemployment. “We told them we shall be looking for policies consistent with maintaining the level of activity and the level of employment,” Murray said. “You do not solve problems by cutting things back.”

Libya buys Fiat

In Turin, Italy, Dec. 2, Italian politicians and industrialists were assessing the surprise announcement the previous night that Libya had bought a 10-percent share of Fiat, Italy’s largest employer. A Socialist party adviser said he deplored the deal and a Communist party adviser said it should be debated in Parliament.

Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti (himself on a two-day visit last week to Washington), meanwhile, seemed to be making political capital out of a Nov. 26 agreement between Rome and the Vatican ending the church’s favored status as the state religion, which went back to 1929. The church’s special rights in marriage laws, religious education and other places are also changed, reflecting the Italian people’s move away from the Vatican.

Imports of grain hurt Poland

In Warsaw, Poland, Dec. 1, Edward Greek, the Communist party leader, told a party plenum that the import of \$1.5 billion worth of grain and meat in 1976-77 had badly hurt the national economic plan. The food imports were to stave off consumer discontent over market shortages, discontent that spilled over last June into worker protests—sometimes violent.

“We are 2½ million—if we are all active we can ensure favorable development for Poland,” Gierk told the party as he scolded party workers for passive or bureaucratic stands and warned that a Western propaganda campaign against the socialist countries sought to exploit those with incorrigible bourgeois tendencies.

Europe has economy problem

Elsewhere on the European front, there was movement here and there. The biggest news was from French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing in Pisa, Italy Dec. 2 when he called for a summit meeting of the Western world in mid-’77 to discuss economic and monetary policies. Andreotti, facing a relatively bleak situation himself, immediately endorsed the idea.

At the Hague, the heads of state and government of the European Economic Community at a two-day meeting heard some bad news: The number of unemployed, declining earlier this fall, has again shot above 5 million. The prospect of dearer oil and slower growth weighed on their discussions as they attempted to formulate a joint EEC position for the final phase of the North-South Dialog (the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation) and to take a closer look at Japanese penetration of EEC markets.

That conference, recently expected in mid-month and reported to be ready to be used by Third World nations to bar-

gain more strongly against the West, is expected to be put off into early ’77, according to West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and high American officials. The Third Worlders were reportedly ready to have OPEC moderate raising oil prices in exchange for concessions on price indexing and debt relief. The West clearly didn’t want to move.

Soviets-Chinese talk

The Sino-Soviet dialog seemed past an impasse. Talks were reopened Nov. 30 in Peking for the first time in 18 months on the sensitive border dispute, where Russians and Chinese face each other along a 4,500-mile boundary that erupted in armed conflict in the spring of 1969. Border talks began the following summer, but have been stalled since May, 1975. Sitting down together were Leonid Ilyichev, the Soviet vice foreign minister who arrived Nov. 27 to an unusually warm welcome, and Yu Chan, the Chinese deputy foreign minister.

Go ahead on B1—slowly

Nov. 29 in Washington, the Pentagon gave a preliminary go-ahead to initial production of the controversial B1 bomber. The Defense Department signed a contract with Rockwell International to spend \$87 million a month through June, at which point the Carter administration must decide whether to continue the program. The air force wants to build 244 B1s to replace aging B52s in a program that will cost at least \$22.8 billion.

A few days earlier, government sources confirmed that the CIA recovered a sunken Soviet nuclear submarine, with warheads, from the Pacific two years earlier.

Panthers file \$100-million suit

In U.S. District Court Dec. 1, the Black Panther party filed a \$100 million damage suit against top former and present government officials for conspiring to destroy the party and to have its leaders assassinated in a 10-year vendetta in which at least eight party members were killed. Party leader Elaine Brown said she hoped the Carter administration would “join us in demanding a full accounting of the continuing secret war against black Americans who dare to organize for change.”

GOP: a party of “againsters”

It finally settled in on Sen. Robert Dole, the recent Republican vice presidential nominee, that the party had lost and was losing. Said the usually acid-tongued Kansan Nov. 30: “We have an image problem....We are perceived as a party of political ‘againsters,’ a party that cares for the rich and not the poor, the businessman and not the consumer, the industrialist and not the environmentalist, those who can help themselves, and not those who need help.” What else is new?

Gilmore to be shot

Finally, Gary M. Gilmore, the man who would be executed, is scheduled to get his wish at 9:37 a.m. (EST) Dec. 6—unless civil liberties groups are successful in turning that around. He is to be shot by five men with rifles from behind a canvass screen, though one of the rifles will be loaded with dummy bullets, theoretically saving each of the five (and the state?) from feeling directly responsible for Gilmore’s murder.

Mexico's classic dilemma looms

By John Coatsworth

Jose Lopez Portillo, Mexico's new president, assumed office Dec. 1 amid growing political tensions, social unrest and economic crisis.

Most of the international press and a considerable body of Mexican opinion expect the new regime to swing quickly to the right, away from the reformist posture adopted by outgoing President Luis Echeverria.

The country's problems are serious enough to invite comparison with Allende's Chile, but the army remains in its barracks (and will probably stay there except for repressive forays against leftwing government enemies). A visit by Chicago economist Milton Friedman will not be necessary; a more respectable delegation from the International Monetary Fund will play that role.

The country's economic crisis is a consequence of the worldwide recession that began in 1971. The Echeverria government attempted to reverse a slowdown in economic growth by expanding the state's role in the economy and by deficit spending with funds borrowed abroad. The result was inflation and a growing balance-of-payments deficit that forced a devaluation of the Mexican peso Aug. 30 and a second devaluation seven weeks later. (The peso had not been devalued since 1954.)

Echeverria's Keynesian economic policies did not prevent the Mexican economy from slowing down. While inflation increased, unemployment was also rising. Mexico does not issue regular unemployment estimates, but reasonable estimates suggest unemployment and underemployment together have increased from 25 percent of the workforce in 1971 to near 40 percent now.

►Classic dilemma of underdeveloped world.

The Lopez Portillo administration thus faces the classic dilemma of governments throughout the underdeveloped world. One option, preferred by the IMF and capitalists both Mexican and foreign, is to cut inflation and stabilize the peso by reducing government spending, while simultaneously taking measures to encourage private investment to stimulate economic growth.



The peso: Fading after holding steady since 1954.

The other option is to pursue some variant of the Echeverria policies, increasing the role of government in the economy and facing the risk of a "Southamericanization" of the country: more inflation, new devaluations and an even-greater decline in private capital accumulation.

The first option in Mexico risks confrontation with a restive population. Relations between the government and the labor movement could deteriorate rapidly if social services were cut back and workers made to pay for stabilization through a wage freeze.

The outgoing administration approved a 23-percent national wage hike in Sep-

tember after the first devaluation. Labor is likely to demand a new increase as inflation has already begun to eat away the September increase.

Unemployment in the countryside has led to largescale invasions of private landholdings in the northern states of Sonora, Sinaloa and Durango, encouraged by expropriation decrees issued by Echeverria in his last days as president.

►Reformist policies bankrupt.

The dangers of the second option, of continuing the reformist policies of the Echeverria administration are also palpable. In response to Echeverria's land-expropriation decrees, a nationwide

"strike" by merchants and industrialists paralyzed business in towns and cities throughout the country.

Far from accepting a further expansion of the state sector, Mexican capitalists are demanding that many of the 500 industrial and commercial companies owned by the government be sold back to the private sector.

Foreign investors are proving reluctant to invest in Mexico until assurances are given, in the form of reduced government spending, that the peso will not be devalued again.

To increase its foreign currency earnings, Mexico is being urged by the IMF to abandon the policy of development of petroleum resources in favor of a wasteful policy of maximizing crude oil exports.

Thus far, except for a vague pledge to economize in his inauguration speech, Lopez Portillo has given no indication of the direction he will follow.

The new cabinet is a skillfully contrived collection of prominent political figures designed to appeal to the most diverse groups inside Mexico and abroad. Many cabinet ministers are holdovers from the Echeverria administration.

Despite reformist rhetoric and even some modest achievements, Echeverria never managed and probably did not intend to encourage development of popular political forces independent of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI). A growing and increasingly effective Communist party, and two smaller socialist parties, are still not sufficiently effective to challenge the government directly.

Organized opposition to a rightward shift in government policies from outside the PRI could not achieve success.

Within the PRI, the power of the presidency is more than sufficient to force a closing of ranks. For the foreseeable future—at least for the time being—the shape of Mexico's economic and political life will depend largely on events outside its borders—the pace of recovery in the advanced countries, and the attitude of the Carter administration in the U.S., whose aid and sympathy could prove important in moderating the international pressures on the Mexican government.

John Coatsworth is an assistant history professor at the University of Chicago.

Defense contractors getting higher profits

By John Markoff

Pentagon officials have admitted for the first time that defense contractors make higher profits than commercial industry. The concession came on Nov. 18 in testimony before a Joint Congressional committee chaired by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.). The committee has been investigating defense industry.

William Clements, Deputy Secretary of Defense, testified that a detailed Pentagon study entitled "Profit '76" had revealed that while defense industry profits were lower as a percentage of sales than commercial industry, they were significantly higher when measured as a percentage of investment.

Defense contractors made an average profit of 13.5 percent on investment before taxes during the past five years, while the return of commercial producers of durable goods was 10.7 percent. Profit as a percentage of investment has traditionally been a critical factor for private investors.

Clements' testimony before the Joint Committee on Defense Production was designed to defend a recently implemented Defense department profit policy, code-named DPC 76-3. The new policy is supposed to be a break from past contracting practice that has based profits almost entirely on costs. Clements acknowledged that this method of contracting, known as "cost-plus," has been a major factor in increasing the costs of

"The Lockheeds of this world are rewarded for bad performance ...I call them the wards of the state."

weapons systems. In the past, the easiest way for defense contractors to increase their profits has been to increase costs.

Clements claimed that DPC 76-3 would also create incentives for contractors to invest capital in new equipment to increase productivity and thereby lower costs.

►Free plant and equipment from government.

In the past, defense contractors have tended to rely heavily on free plant and equipment available from the government, Clements said. "The FTC data indicates that commercial contractors invest an average of 63¢ for every dollar of sales. Government contractors, on the other hand, invest an average of 35¢ for every dollar of sales. We consider this difference of 28¢ on the sales dollar to be significant."

Sen. Proxmire suggested that lower defense contractor investment and higher profits might result from the contractor practice of "loading" part of their overhead from government work onto their commercial work. Clements denied this,

saying that Pentagon audits made loading impossible.

A. Ernest Fitzgerald, Air Force deputy for productivity management, also testified before Proxmire's committee on the Pentagon's new profit guidelines. Fitzgerald, a skilled defense analyst, has been known as a gadfly for many years and his testimony is not generally welcomed by Defense department officials. (Fitzgerald was fired by the Air Force in the '60s after he exposed a \$2 billion overrun on the C5A Air Force jet transport plane. Seven years after being fired, he regained his position through a civil service suit. Today he has been stripped by the Air Force of many of his former powers and can no longer examine specific weapon systems.)

When asked by Proxmire if he had Defense department approval to appear before the committee, Fitzgerald said he wasn't sure. The Air Force has taken no official position on his testimony. He noted that 11 internal memos had been circulated on his appearance and stated,

"For anything that I say that is in agreement with Pentagon policy, I'm speaking as an official, but if I go off the reservation, I'm on my own."

Fitzgerald criticized the new profit policy for not adopting "should-cost" techniques, and continuing to rely on "historical" cost indicators. Using existing costs to measure future costs makes price rises in weapons systems inevitable, Fitzgerald said.

He also attacked the Pentagon for creating a system that gives most defense business to a small number of giant specialized defense corporations. "The Lockheeds of this world are rewarded for bad performance," he explained. "I call them the wards of the state. When Lockheed was bailed out, it wasn't just the \$250 million loan guarantee they got. Deputy Secretary of Defense [David] Packard declared them essential to national defense, and they got a grant of more than a billion dollars."

Proxmire's committee has released data that shows that only 50 corporations get 60 percent of all defense contracts. Of those 50, the top 10 military contractors make 33.3 percent of all defense sales to the government. The committee also released data showing that less than one-third of military purchasing dollars are awarded through open price competition. John Markoff is a writer based in the Pacific Northwest and is associated with the Pacific Northwest Research Center in Eugene, Ore.

IN THE NATION

Sadlowski vs. McBride: tough, tight race

By David Moberg
National Staff Writer

It was a freezing day for members of Steelworker Union local No. 1066 to take their turn nominating candidates for top union offices. Only a few determined people trickled into Philip Murray Hall in downtown Gary, Ind., Dec. 2 to mark their ballots.

Interest was low because both Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for president and director of the Gary-Chicago district, and Lloyd McBride, supporter of outgoing president I.W. Abel, already had

loyalists gives the establishment candidate an edge.

The only thing clear from the nomination fight is that the remaining race will be tight and tough. One Sadlowski organizer has been shot in the neck while leafleting, provoking concern for Sadlowski's security. Also, Sadlowski previously had to overturn one fraud-riddled district election in 1973 to win his current position.

The Labor Department is considering a request by Abel for "technical assistance" in conducting the election and another plea by Sadlowski for Labor depart-

1066 election. "If the candidate is hand-picked," black griever Billy Hawkins said in a reference to McBride, "he'll do what his predecessor did. Under Abel with each contract we lost ground. The strike is the only weapon labor has to use." Sadlowski has attacked the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, backed by McBride, which gave up the right to strike nationally.

"I can't see where it's done me no good," a 41-year-old production worker in the sheet and tin mill said of the ENA. "We're going through layoffs now. We gave up the right to strike and the com-

"Sadlowski's years as a steelworker, his youth, his militancy gained him support... But some union officeholders who hope to advance in the bureaucracy figure McBride has a better chance to win."

enough nominations to be on the Feb. 8 ballot. "People tell me, 'Hell, he's on the ballot. Why should I come down?'" a longtime steelworker said. "The big thing is Feb. 8. This is just cosmetics."

Sadlowski won at the 4,000-member local, which is part of the huge U.S. Steel Gary Works, by a margin of 167 to 55. He has done well at major steel locals throughout the country, scoring best in the big steel regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio and his home district, taking a third of the nominations in some areas.

McBride claimed a lead of 2,748 to 352 local union nominations at the end of November, one week before nominations closed. Sadlowski supporters said the large lead was unimportant. Challengers typically do far better in the final vote than in nominations. Control of many locals, especially the small "bucket shops," by staff representatives and administration

ment supervision. Normally the Labor Department intervenes only after fraud or other violations occur. But, even the *New York Times* has editorially plugged for broader government involvement in this case. Like many business observers, they were worried that a disputed election could disrupt steel and other contract talks starting early next year.

One of Sadlowski's law suits to prevent prejudicial use of the union machinery in the election was settled in his favor Nov. 23. There was an agreement that the union will mail campaign literature for both candidates at union expense. Also, both sides will preview copies of the union newspaper, *Steel Labor*. Previous issues have included thinly concealed attacks on the Sadlowski candidacy.

Sadlowski was seen as a needed force for change in the union by several workers drifting in and out of the Local No.

pany gave up nothing." He also said he was "100 percent for the right of members to ratify," another of Sadlowski's pledges.

Although Sadlowski's years as a steelworker, his youth, his militancy and the general aura of change he represents all gained him support, other workers—most of them opponents of Sadlowski's district director candidacy—criticized him as inexperienced, overly ambitious and, citing leaflets distributed by McBride supporters, supported by Communists.

Some union officeholders who hope to advance in the bureaucracy figure McBride has a better chance to win and are pinning their hopes and careers to his coattails. One man backing McBride for that reason still admired Sadlowski, saying his defeat would be "the greatest tragedy for the labor movement. He's got guts. He's got charisma."

'Information, please': ATT tells all

By Dave Lindorff

Los Angeles. Testimony in a little-publicized hearing under way here indicates the Bell Telephone system is giving credit where credit is not due.

A reluctant witness who works in the security office of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, the Bell subsidiary here, has admitted that her job and that of 11 co-workers, is to provide hundreds of government agencies with nonpublished numbers, names and addresses and with the credit and long-distance phone-call records of PT&T customers.

June Ishikawa, who said her job category was "staff clerk," made the admission under questioning by an attorney for CAUSE (Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation), a consumer group.

CAUSE had been granted a hearing by the state Public Utilities Commission, which oversees the phone company, after the consumer group filed a complaint over alleged mishandling of nonpublished numbers.

Last May, the *L.A. Vanguard*, a local alternative newspaper, broke the story that PT&T was providing nonpublished information to every government agency from the CIA to the Los Angeles public library. The phone company eventually admitted the story was correct, but continued to deny it was also providing credit information and toll-call records to those same organizations.

While there are no federal or state sta-

"ATT's policy is to cooperate with law enforcement agencies."

tutes regulating the handling of non-published information, such release of credit and toll-call information could violate federal privacy and credit acts, as well as Federal Communications Act regulations.

During hearings, which could result in the first statutes regarding the handling of non-published information, numerous state police organizations asked for a chance to testify.

Each police representative made the same request: "Don't restrict our access to non-published information." A string of district attorneys, police and sheriff's deputies said the phone company security offices, which handle hundreds of requests every day, are "an important investigative tool."

What makes the actions of the Bell security offices even more ominous is the number of FBI agents who make the switch from the bureau to the phone company. Information from congressional source shows that 52 former FBI agents work for Bell or AT&T, its parent

organization. Of these, 37 are in "security divisions." Most of the others are listed as company attorneys.

General Telephone, the largest phone company after the Bell system, has done even better at agent recruitment proportionately. The much-smaller firm employs 28 former agents—21 of them in security divisions.

The significance of these figures lies in what a former FBI agent, William Turner, said, "There is really no such thing as an ex-agent. Having these people in the phone company security offices is as good as having an agent there. An ex-agent would have a hard time turning down a current agent's request for information or a phone tap, legal or not."

Nor is the situation peculiar to PT&T and California. The New York Telephone, another Bell subsidiary, has security offices that give access to dozens of agencies, including among others the CIA and state and county welfare offices, though neither is even authorized to act in a police capacity. PT&T officials have testified that the Bell company in Washington, D.C., the Chesapeake and Potomac, also provides the information.

As both Ira Mansfield, PT&T security staff director, and John Whitman, assistant security director at New York Telephone, said, "It's the policy of the Bell system to cooperate with law enforcement and public safety agencies."

David Lindorff is a reporter who writes for the *L.A. Vanguard*.

GAO charges Indian Health service abuses

Washington. A report prepared by the General Accounting Office has charged that a large number of sterilizations of native American women were performed by the Indian Health Service without the women's required informed consent. The report gives weight to allegations that Indian women were being sterilized as a birth control measure.

Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) released the report, which he requested the GAO to prepare after receiving complaints about the sterilizations.

The document said the four service areas studied, Aberdeen, S.D., Albuquerque, N.M., Phoenix, Ariz., and Okaloosa City, Okla., were "generally not in compliance with IHS regulations" on informed consent in sterilization procedures involving 3,000 women of child-bearing age from 1973 to the present. Not only were the proper procedures not followed, said the GAO, but they are inadequate in any case.

The GAO also found that despite a moratorium on sterilization of persons under 21, 36 such operations occurred, two-thirds of them "non-therapeutic"—that is, solely for birth control purposes. "Therapeutic" sterilization occurs when the woman's health is endangered, such as in an operation for cancer of the uterus.

The 3,000 procedures of both types studied by GAO were performed out of a potential patient population of about 55,000 women aged 15 to 44—a sterilization rate of well over 5 percent for less than four years, or around 1.5 percent annually. GAO could find no comparable statistics for the general population to illustrate whether the figure was unusually high. But GAO official Robert Farabaugh predicted the unwelcome publicity generated by the report would slow down sterilizations by the service, indicating the present rate might be unwarranted by medical or social necessity.

Informed consent is properly obtained, according to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regulations, only when the individual seeks sterilization and is orally informed of all discomforts, risks, all birth control alternatives, the irreversibility of the process and their right to withdraw consent at any time. Documentation through explanatory consent forms is also required.

The GAO report recommended that prospective patients additionally be informed orally and in writing that refusal of sterilization "will not result in the withdrawal or withholding of any benefits" the woman may be receiving or eligible for. GAO also recommended that a standardized consent form be instituted and that a 72-hour waiting period be established after informed consent is given for voluntary sterilizations.

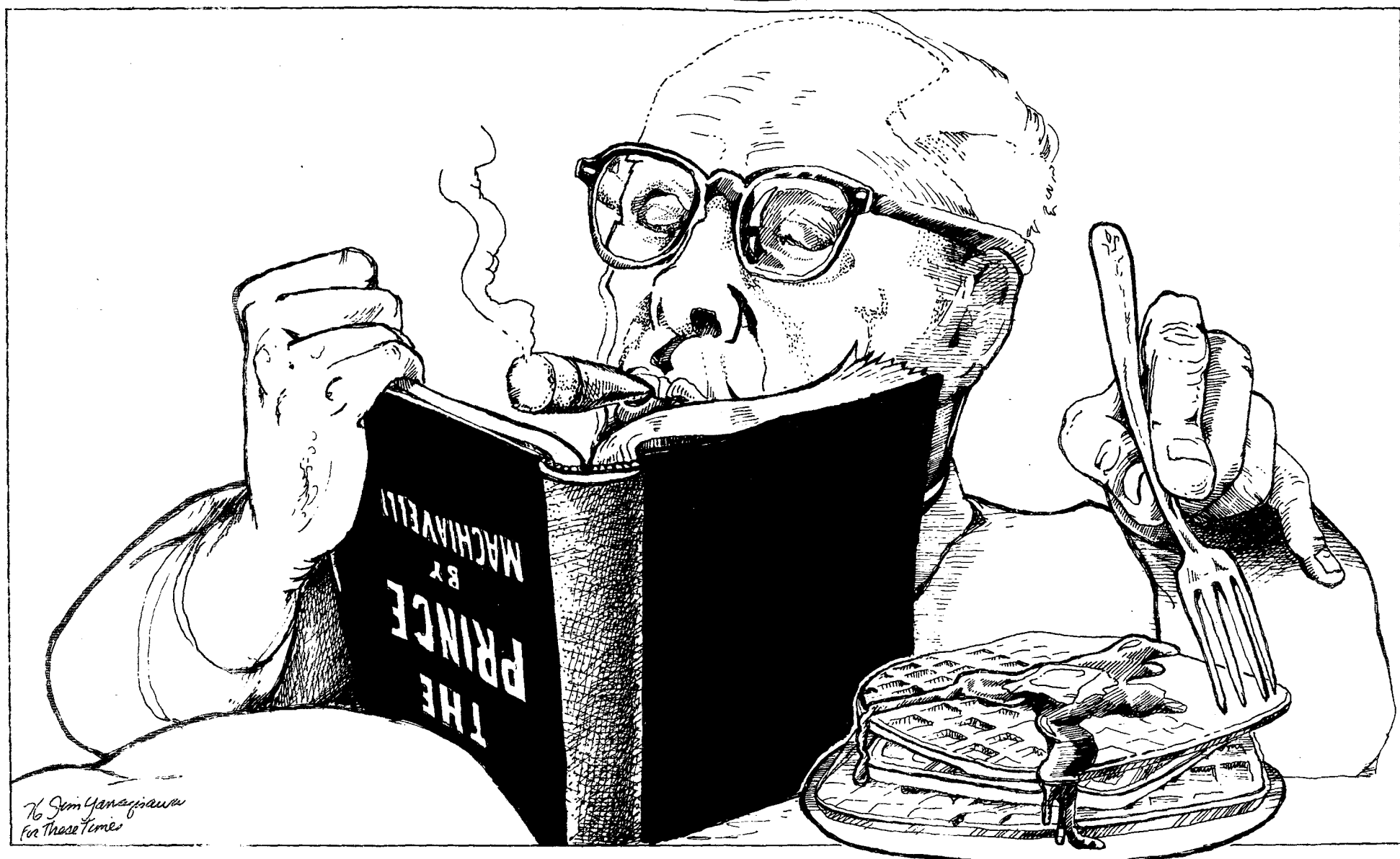
GAO also focused in the report on health research programs using native American subjects. One section said that although Indian children experienced "no unnecessary risk" in a trachoma project, "for most of the research period there was no informed parental consent."

Significantly, researchers explained their lapse by saying they thought such parental consent was not necessary since "IHS acts as legal guardian for the children while they attend [government] boarding schools."

GAO urged clear, uniform and strict procedures for gaining informed consent in all experimentation procedures in the future.

—Tim Frasca

A series on the labor movement, No. 2



Labor's differing attitudes on controls

By Dan Marshall
National Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter and George Meany have struck a similar chord in their recent pronouncements about the economy: the subject of wage-price controls. The President-elect is all for voluntary controls, formulated in consultation with business and labor, to "try to hold down inflationary pressures." Meany is "very, very leery" of any kind of controls, but is willing to discuss the matter with business and the Carter administration.

Meany is reluctant to talk about the subject partially because he doesn't know what is meant by "voluntary" controls. Models for such a program now exist in Britain, West Germany and Scandinavia, where the major trade union federations have agreed to "income policies," voluntary limits on wage increases.

Whether the "social consensus" achieved in these European countries has actually cut inflation is yet to be seen. The most recent experiment with controls in the U.S., Nixon's mandatory Wage-Price Freeze from 1971-74, was a disaster for working people. The rate of inflation went up, real wages went down.

►Emerging social democratic view.

Much of the labor movement will now discuss controls and consider accepting them under certain conditions. This is an indication of labor's drift since the early 1960s from a "free market" collective bargaining position to a social democratic approach to economic policy.

Organized labor does not question corporate capitalism, but it has endorsed democratic national planning of the economy and has progressively down-played a purely adversary bargaining relationship to management and to the government.

The "blind" forces of the capitalist marketplace cannot be relied upon, many labor leaders believe, to fulfill the needs of the American people. Some form of national mechanism is required to evaluate the country's resources and plan their allocation in the context of public discussion.

Part of this social democratic view is the increased willingness of labor unions

to accept governmental intervention into areas formerly reserved to collective bargaining (wage rates, the right to strike, working conditions) to try and move the system through a series of political reforms toward a more equitable distribution of income.

►Advisory committees.

In addition, labor is more receptive to participating in advisory committees where labor leaders voluntarily cooperate with government and management (the case with the committees set up during the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford administrations) or just with employer representatives. Joint labor-management committees now operate in 89 American companies, involving 147 locals of 96 international unions, aiming to increase productivity, cut down waste, and centralize industry negotiations.

Labor's new perspective may crystallize during the next four years as labor unions work out their positions regarding wage-price controls and the extent of popular input into economic decisions.

The road that labor takes will have important implications for the shape of governmental intervention in the economy, wage patterns for the entire working class, and labor's activities in the electoral arena.

►Meany walks out.

George Meany, the AFL-CIO president who once bragged that he had never walked a picket line, has led several wild-cat walkouts since 1971 against government committees that stacked the cards against labor. In 1972, Meany and other AFL-CIO officials quit Nixon's Pay Board, the labor-management-public body that administered Phase II of the Wage-Price Freeze. They charged that the board's "public" members really represented business and the Nixon administration.

Nixon attacked their withdrawal as a "totally selfish and irresponsible" attempt to sabotage his inflation-fighting plans. The *New York Times* said the walkout was a "destructive act" designed to smash the government's machinery for keeping a lid on wages and prices. Others characterized it as another "public be damned"

deed by the cigar-chomping old man of American labor, more concerned about the narrow interests of the "labor aristocracy" than those of the entire working class.

►Walkout consistent with labor policy.

But the AFL-CIO's decision to abandon the Pay Board was wholly consistent with its often-stated policy towards government controls. Six years earlier, the AFL-CIO announced that it would cooperate with stabilization measures as long as the government controlled other forms of income (prices, profits, dividends, rents, executive salaries) along with workers' wages.

"We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, for as long as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice," the AFL-CIO Executive Council said in 1966. "Workers, the poor or the disadvantaged must not be made to carry the burden alone."

Looking back on two and one-half years of mandatory controls, businessmen and economists concede that the freeze fueled inflation while it roasted organized labor. "The idea of the freeze and Phase II was to zap labor, and we did," said Arnold Weber, former director of the Cost of Living Council and a dean of Carnegie-Mellon University.

►Controls created climate for business.

A 1974 study for the American Economic Assn. concluded that the stock market expected controls to create a favorable climate for business and "to improve the relative share of corporate profits at the expense of labor."

Wage increases were held to a 5.5 percent ceiling during the freeze while corporate profits rose 28 percent during 1971-73 and the Consumer Price Index rose 18 percent, according to AFL-CIO calculations. When controls were lifted in mid-1974, the buying power of a working family had declined 7 percent from October, 1972.

The results of this first peace-time experiment with controls has so turned labor against a mandatory program that the AFL-CIO will oppose granting Carter standby authority to impose them again. These experiences also appeared to vindi-

cate two other labor views toward controls: that labor should push for national planning in a more comprehensive form, and that controls will always be inequitable.

►Woodcock proposed tripartite body.

United Auto Workers' president Leonard Woodcock joined the AFL-CIO representatives in leaving the Pay Board. But the UAW went further in advocating a permanent labor-management-public body that would stabilize prices after Phase I.

Since the 1950s the UAW has backed a tripartite Wage-Price Review Board that would examine proposed price increases for major corporations, sponsor public hearings and make recommendations.

For Phase II, Woodcock cited the experience of World War II and the Korean war and proposed a voluntary body that would equalize the voices of labor and management. The government would keep hand off such a mechanism, Woodcock suggested, and leave all decisions on standards, rules and procedures to the labor-management-public board.

This body could not prohibit corporations from raising prices, but could publicize the different opinions on whether those increases were justified with the hope that governmental and popular pressure would do the rest.

►Left-of-center unions opposed controls.

On the other side, the leaders of left-of-center unions say that controls can never be equitably administered because of the unbridled power of American corporations. These unions identify with the militant struggles of the 1930s.

The 58,000-member International Longshoremen's Union was unalterably opposed to controls of any kind during the Wage-Price Freeze. Controls do not affect a basic redistribution of wealth, the ILWU pointed out, and are based on the false premise that high prices are caused by high wages. Neither a Democratic nor Republican administration can oversee controls in an even-handed way since they're "virtually impotent when applied to prices and profits," they say.

Continued on Page 14

When a rank-and-filer sues the Teamsters union...

A member of Teamster local 592 in Richmond, Va., has sued the union for refusing to allow him to speak at the local's meetings and for refusing to provide financial information. Granted \$33,000 by a federal district court, Welford Wigglesworth later lost the case on appeal, but he has established a precedent that others may follow.

"I've been a member of the Teamster's union for 25 years—an outspoken member—and I've been curbed as much as any human being can possibly be curbed. Anybody who gets up to speak at a union

"I have yet to see anybody get impartial justice from the internal grievance machinery in any Teamster union local in this country..."

meeting who is half effective is ruled out of order," says Wigglesworth.

In the fall of 1974 he was prevented from speaking at two union meetings by the local's president, William Hodson. Wigglesworth sued the local, charging that his rights to freedom of speech under the Landrum-Griffin Act had been violated.

The suit also alleged that the president refused to give him information on the union's financial affairs and denied his request to inform the membership of their rights under the Act.

In September, 1975, Wigglesworth was granted \$33,000 by the district court, along with "injunctive relief" in a directive from the court that local officers not coerce, restrain or intimidate him.

On Nov. 17, 1976, that decision and compensation was overturned by the U.S. Court of Appeals. The court ruled that Wigglesworth had not followed the letter of the law that required him to exhaust all internal union remedies before bringing suit in open court.

The district court, in the first decision, addressed the question of "internal union remedies" and ruled that "the internal grievance procedure would have been futile" because he had gone through the procedure in 1972 over a controversial union election.

"I have yet to see anybody get impartial justice from the internal grievance machinery in any Teamster union local in this country and I'm familiar with quite a few," Wigglesworth explains.

►Pressure from international.

Why did he lose the case on appeal? Wigglesworth cites a series of events after the first court ruling that indicate the international union exerted a lot of pressure to overturn the decision.

The officers of the local union were belligerent after the first ruling, Wigglesworth says, refusing to pay the compensation because word had come from Frank Fitzsimmons, general president of the International, that the case would set a bad precedent. Fitzsimmons was especially concerned, Wigglesworth claims, because he had called for an impartial parliamentarian at future local meetings—"someone we could appeal to, regardless of who was running the local affairs of the union."

"This was when Fitzsimmons discovered that he had an emergency situation on his hands and placed the union in trusteeship for 30 days," Wigglesworth says.



Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Photo by UPI

A comprehensive report on the Teamsters by the Professional Drivers' Council (PROD) describes trusteeship as "one of the general president's most potent weapons," often used to stifle independent leadership or force compliance with a particular union policy.

►Continued harassment.

Wigglesworth states that he continued to be harassed by local officers, despite the court's grant of injunctive relief. At the one meeting held during the trusteeship, the trustee demanded to know who gave him permission to take notes. Several months later, Wigglesworth was arrested for trespassing when he entered the union hall during working hours.

In addition, four of the witnesses who testified in behalf of Wigglesworth have been discharged or driven out of the industry completely.

The final blow came when the U.S. Court of Appeals prepared to hear the case. Wigglesworth had dismissed his first attorney because he refused to press the local union to pay the compensation granted by the district court. "I could see that a change in his attitude after he won the first time. I think the union got to him," Wigglesworth says.

This same lawyer then appeared in front of the Appeals Court and represented him against his will, Wigglesworth claims, not giving him sufficient notice

of the hearing so that he could represent himself. "From the papers I've seen, it looks like he joined forces with the union lawyer and agreed that I hadn't exhausted my internal remedies before going into court," he says.

►Unable to appeal further.

Wigglesworth is unable to appeal the case any further because of the expense—he's already spent \$19,000.

His case is apparently not unique. John Henry Johnson, also an activist at union meetings, was awarded \$25,000 by a Richmond jury earlier this year. Teamster officers have responded by expelling him from the union and blacklisting him. Johnson is unable to comment on the specifics of his case until appeal hearings end.

Welford Wigglesworth remains determined to fight for his democratic rights in the Teamsters union. "I'll wait to see the attitude they take at the next union meeting. If they try to assess me court costs, I'll go through the four months of internal remedies required by the act and then sue the union again," he says.

In addition, Wigglesworth hopes to start a Richmond chapter of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a national network of Teamsters committed to reforming the union from the bottom up.

—Dan Marshall

Pardons, power, politics

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

Washington. Lawyers on President-elect Carter's transition team are at work on legal aspects of the pardon to be granted to selected Vietnam war resisters in what apparently will be Carter's first major act in office.

In the area of long-range administrative organization, Carter is getting strong advice—and reportedly is paying attention to it—to break the White House stranglehold over policy formulation and execution.

Carter's pardon of draft violators will be universal regardless of circumstances, but deserters will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. About 14,000 persons will receive Carter's limited amnesty.

But the 750,000 Vietnam-era veterans who received less-than-honorable discharges remain unaffected. The status of nonregistrants, estimated by former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark to number a million, is unclear from present reports.

"Carter's got trouble on this one," one amnesty activist said. "He's going to get it from both sides, the Legion and VFW—who hate him already—and on the other hand, those he's left out."

Carter is also facing in the transition period important questions on the scope and nature of presidential power. Stephen Hess, a fellow of the Brookings Institution, the liberal thinktank, is advocating reversal of the FDR-to-Nixon trend toward turning the White House into a super-executive, initiating and administering policy over the heads of the bureaucracy.

"Roosevelt saw the inherited permanent government as too conservative," Hess said. "Eisenhower found it too liberal. Kennedy's people considered it a bulwark against change, and to Johnson, and Nixon it was simply disloyal."

The Nixon White House became, according to Hess, who worked there under Daniel P. Moynihan, almost a "counter-bureaucracy," the culmination of the centralization trend.

Hess' analysis, contained in his well-timed book, *Organizing the Presidency*, is attractive to a broad range of the moderate-to-liberal Washington establishment. After eight years out of power, incoming Democrats are eager to enter the government as innovators or even activists, not cautious 4th or 5th-echelon functionaries afraid of looking like usurpers to a power-jealous palace guard.

Furthermore, a legislature bursting with Democrats is sure to be nodding vigorously at Hess' reminder that "Congress, not the president, delegates administrative authority to the departments." Under Hess' conception, the president becomes "not the chief manager, but the chief political officer, making important, but relatively few, political decisions."

Although Carter has so far indicated only that he is studying the Brookings thesis, adopting it may be the line of least resistance, most suited to pleasing the people Carter must live with for the next four—or, if all goes well, eight—years.

Cabinet and cabinet-level appointments in coming weeks will be strong clues as to which organizational course Carter will take.

His expected choice to head the Office of Management and Budget, Thomas Bertram Lance, would be consistent with the Brookings conception. Though a conservative banker who, along with Coca-Cola's J. Paul Austin, has been arranging rendezvous for Carter with "leading businessmen," Lance is known as a competent fiscal manager less likely to assert policy prerogatives through the White House-connected OMB over departments headed by cabinet appointees.

Jimmy Carter's fair-haired banker boy moves up

By Jon Jacobs

Atlanta. Those watching the Carter administration for its future direction found some last week when Georgian Thomas Bertram (Bert) Lance became the appointee-apparent to the directorship of the federal Office of Management and Budget.

The OMB appointment, considered crucial both to Carter's handling of the economy and his projected government reorganization, has been considered a decisive indicator of whether the new president would take basically a progressive or a conservative approach to the nation's economic problems. However, the projected appointment of the self-styled

"Lance is willing to work 14-16 hours a day; he has excellent personnel judgment and the man is dumb like a fox."

be the state Highway Department, known familiarly as the "Department of Politics and Paving."

This department was ruled by Jim Gillis, who, in true Hooverian fashion, used his stores of dirt on political figures and his patronage power with local and state officials to build a power base that had been virtually independent of the many governors under whom he had

tion lie in Lance's support for several highway projects that failed. Interstate 485, a road that would have bisected Atlanta and destroyed several established intown neighborhoods, was a hot item during Lance's term. Although one former Lance staffer said, "He was never one to go out of his way and break his back for a particular project," other sources contend that Lance strongly supported

has kept himself in the public eye by appearing on radio and TV commercials. Many feel this exposure has been embarrassingly counterproductive.

Bank commercials have not, however, been Lance's only method for keeping in the public eye. Although by now a respected member of Atlanta's white and extremely racist business elite, Lance joined with an arch-enemy, Mayor Maynard Jackson, as chairman of a drive to pass four sorely needed bond issues, proposed by the financially strapped city government. Of the four, only a popular proposal for a new library passed. Although some called this another example of failure in Lance's career, others praised him for his efforts. Said one city administrator, "Those turkeys love to see the first black mayor having to make drastic budget cuts. At least Lance made an effort to help."

►Willing to take some risks.

Despite a string of political setbacks and some questionable business decisions, Lance is still popular and generally well respected, both in financial and political communities.

Although the national press has described him as a "fiscal conservative," Lance has shown that within the business community he is imaginative and willing to take risks while still remaining respectable. (He was, for instance, used several times during the Carter campaign to reassure out-of-state businessmen that Carter is a fiscal conservative.)

While it is true that he is not regarded as a free spender or a plunger, it is common knowledge in the banking community that the National's board did not try to dissuade Lance from accepting the OMB appointment.

It is typical of this enigmatic man that while many predict he will play the nation's economy close to his vest, insiders say that he, like Carter, is liable to surprise some people with progressive items.

One of Lance's biggest problems as an administrator and politician is, according to friends and enemies alike, his legendary temper. A story, possibly apocryphal, is told about a trip he made to Washington as head of DOT. Lance, the story goes, was in the office of a well-known cabinet official who kept leaving the office and talking on the phone while Lance was trying to present his case. Finally, Lance is said to have slammed his oversized briefcase down on the startled man's desk and shouted, "Look, nobody yanks my chain... Shit smells the same in Washington as it does in Calhoun." What happened next is not recorded, but it is clear that a Lance administration at OMB might have its stormy moments.

Judging by his past performance, and by the interviews with those who know him, Lance is in many ways similar to Carter. Some even consider him smarter than the president-elect. In office, he is expected to be moderate with occasionally wild forays, both into progressive and reactionary budget policies. He is a strong administrator who will see to it that Carter's policies are carried out at OMB, bureaucracy or no. He will see, as he did in Georgia, people and money as resources of equal importance to be used with equal facility and disdain. And he can be expected to be utterly loyal to the president.

It has been rumored for some time that there would only be one Georgian in the Carter cabinet and that Lance would be it. The best explanation for this was offered by former state senator Bobby Rowan: "Lance has basically three things going for him," Rowan told *In These Times*, "He is willing to work 14-16 hours a day; he has excellent personnel judgment and the man is dumb like a fox. The business boys trust him even if they shouldn't sometimes. But they'll support him; it doesn't hurt the business community to pick out a star and stick with it. They'll do this for Bert, and Jimmy knows it." Jon Jacobs is an investigative reporter in Atlanta.



Photo by UPI

Atlanta banker Thomas B. Lance, next director of the Office of Management and Budget.

"country banker from Calhoun, Ga." has clarified little.

Lance, like his once and future boss Carter, seems to have several approaches to many issues and, like Carter, is in the end enigmatic.

Lance was born in Gainsville, Ga., to a Methodist family in a Baptist town. His father was a former president of tiny Young Harris College and Lance grew up in a typical southern ideological mix of classical academic and economic aggressiveness.

Those who have known Lance for years say that, even as a child, he showed the odd combination of "Good Old Boy" behavior and sharp intellect that have made him a mystery to some of those who have dealt with him in his political life. They also report that his temper, which is legendary, came early to him.

►Working up through the ranks.

Lance took his first job in the banking world in 1951 when he became a \$90-a-month teller at the tiny First National Bank of Calhoun, Ga. He rose through the ranks and by 1963 was president. In the process he came into contact and made friends with future Carter advisers, particularly with lawyer-insider Charles Kirbo.

As President of the Calhoun institution, Lance expanded his circle of acquaintances. He became a well-known and respected banking figure in the state.

Lance's first opportunity to prove himself in public came in 1970 when then-Gov. Jimmy Carter appointed him head of the state Department of Transportation. Lance's performance here, in a job considered an extremely hot potato, provided insight into his character and his approach to running a government bureau.

Carter had run for governor in 1970 on a platform committed to reorganizing state government. The hardest nut to crack in this process was considered to

served. The department, with its enormous supply of federal and state money, was the home of the purchased favor and the political fix. Naturally, anyone working in the department was loyal to Gillis.

In the Carter reorganization, the department was given the added responsibilities of air and railway regulation and was restyled the Department of Transportation.

It was Lance's job to change the department from the personal and profitable bastion of the Gillis forces into a reasonably efficient and honest state agency. How he accomplished this task is, to a large extent, a matter of whom one asks.

►Cleaning up the Highway Department.

Frank Harscher, now an assistant to the governor of Kentucky, was head of the Georgia Tollway Authority under Lance. He told *In These Times*, "I have yet to meet a man who is able to change the morale and basic instincts of so many people in so short a time." Harscher went on to describe how Lance, rather than fire the Gillis cronies or demote them to positions where they could do little harm, tried to imbue them with the spirit of dispassionate public service. Harscher continued, "One of the most remarkable things about [Lance] is he learns so much about people so fast. He talked to those people and turned them around...until they were running a fine department."

A former state senator who asked not to be identified and who worked closely with Lance agreed. "That man had staff meetings every week and people towed the line or else. And there was very little or else," he said.

Other are not so sure. An Atlanta politician who asked not to be identified said, "I think he is overrated in terms of his brightness and ability to get things done." He went on to point out that Lance became known as something of a loser during his term at DOT.

The foundations of this loser reputa-

the controversial highway and would not let up even after the Atlanta Board of Aldermen, under intense community pressure, turned thumbs down on the project.

In the case of the proposed West Georgia Tollway, the plans for which, unlike those for I-485, were originated under Lance's leadership, he did not give in to community opposition. He did not abandon the project until 1973 when Carter told him that the fuel shortage and economic crunch would not allow the road to be built.

►Carter's fair-haired boy.

Whatever his successes and failures at DOT, Lance emerged from his term there as Carter's fair-haired boy. When he announced his plans to run for governor at the end of Carter's single legal term, many thought his election a foregone conclusion.

It was not to be. Although he spent the largest amount ever in a Georgia political race, Lance lost in the primary. As one local politician said, "He spent a wad, but he was a bomb and he lost." Although this reinforced his loser's image for some, others argue that his down-home, conservative, basically positionless campaign was designed for a Georgia of bygone days and more the result of bad advice than anything else.

After his election loss, political observers considered Lance a live prospect for the 1978 gubernatorial election, but wondered what he would do in the meantime.

Lance acted quickly. In company with two other men he used his \$3,000,000 net worth to purchase controlling interest in the National Bank of Georgia, the state's fourth largest.

There, Lance has established a reputation as an aggressive banker who has been criticized by the more conservative as foolhardy. He has seen to it that the bank purchased three state banks, including Hamilton National Bank, which are on a less-than-stable financial footing. He

IN SHORT

Huckster for nuclear power

"The Joint Atomic Energy Committee is a huckster for the nuclear power industry. It ignores safety issues and cost overruns while it protects federal investment in its members states and districts," declared David Cohen, president of Common Cause, a public affairs lobbying group.

In a report issued last week, Common Cause called for the Joint Committee to be abolished, charging that it "operates in an arbitrary and inequitable manner."

The Joint Committee is the only one of seven joint congressional committees that has legislative powers. All nuclear power legislation must first be considered by the Committee before it reaches Congress.

"A joint committee with legislative power violates the basic premise of a two-body system where you get two looks at everything," Clarence D. Long (D-Md.) recently told the *Washington Post*.

Along with these special interest ties, Common Cause cites procedural abuses by the committee that have prevented balanced consideration of nuclear policy. In several instances, the committee sped legislation through Congress before relevant studies were completed.

The committee also has a history of failing to hold hearings on safety issues and cost overruns on nuclear programs, or of holding them without the testimony of nuclear critics.

After a \$100 million fire at a nuclear plant in Brown's Ferry, Ala., the committee conducted hearings where only the representatives of the utility that ran the plant and members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission testified. Committee members promised hearings where other views could be presented, but never did so.

These events and the recent elections in which several of its members were defeated, have led some Congressmen to believe that the committee's legislative powers may be divided up among other standing committees this year.

"Its credibility is at an all-time low," commented Jonathan B. Bingham (D-N.Y.), "even the industry believes that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy can't deliver anymore."

—Dan Marshall

Nuclear workers dying

A federal government-sponsored study of the death rate among atomic power plant workers concludes that nuclear plant workers are dying of cancer at higher rates than other workers.

The 12-year study, financed by \$5.2 million in government grants, was based on the death certificates of more than 3,800 atomic workers who died between 1944 and 1972.

If the findings are accurate, it would indicate that the government's permissible levels of radiation in nuclear plants are too high because all of the workers studied received less than the permissible levels of exposure during their lifetimes.

Two radiation experts on the staff of the Natural Resources Defense Council—a group critical of nuclear power—say that the statistics indicate that a person who works in a nuclear plant for 16 years doubles his or her chances of dying of cancer.

The *New York Times* reports that this latest study parallels the findings of a University of Washington study two years ago. The Washington survey of 310,000 deaths also concluded that there seemed to be a somewhat higher cancer death rate than would be expected among atomic power plant employees.

—Zodiac

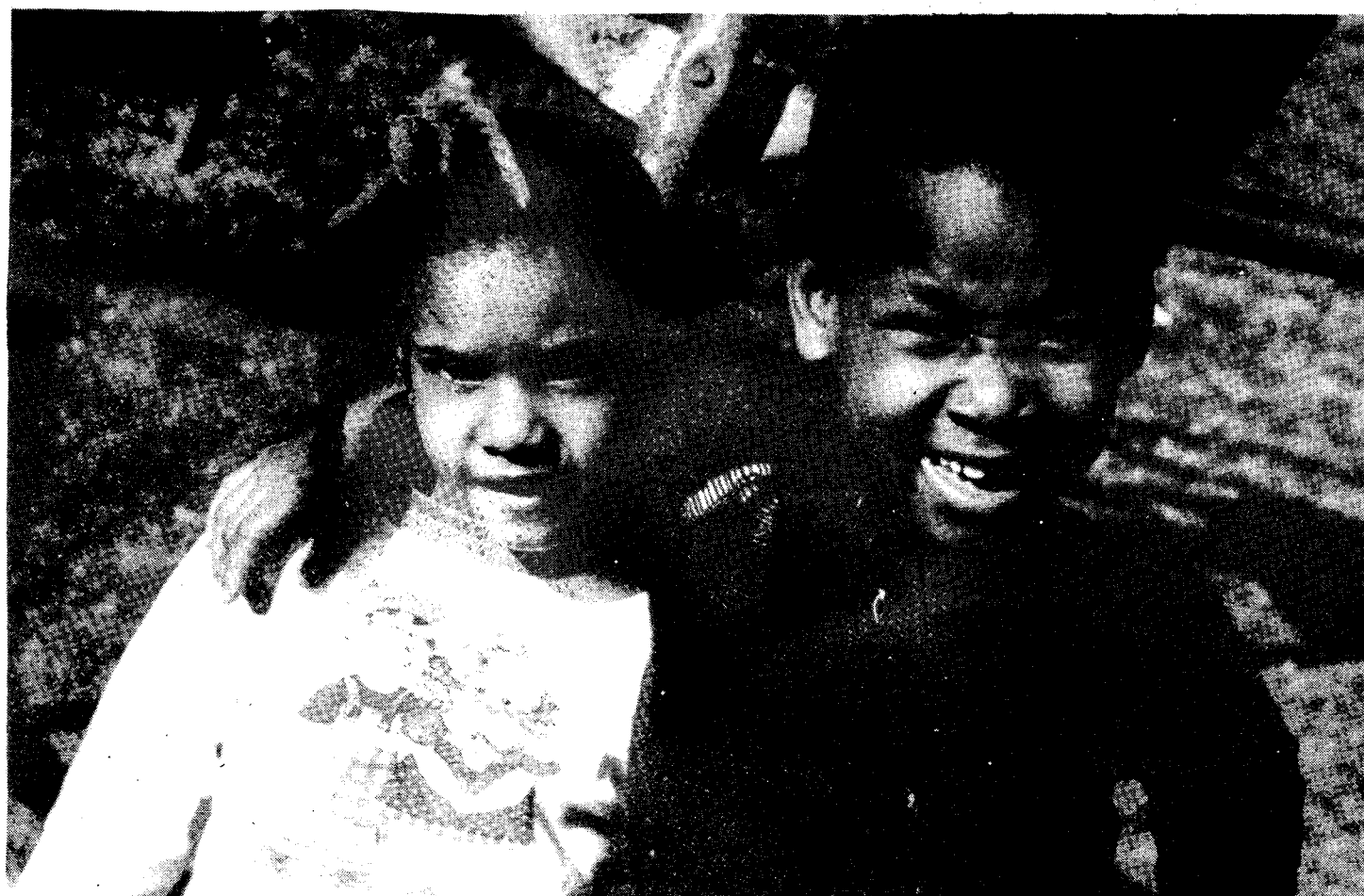


Photo by Jerry Kupfer

22 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Amy Carter's class-mates are waiting for high-quality schools.

Amy Carter, Thaddeus Stevens, and the D.C. public schools

By Joe Holt Anderson

Washington. In Amy Carter's prospective fourth-grade class at Thaddeus Stevens Elementary School here, there are 12 blacks, three Hispanics, three "other." Amy would be the only non-Hispanic white.

Rosalynn Carter announced Nov. 28 that 9-year-old Amy, *enfant terrible* of the new Carter administration, will enter a 108-year-old school originally built for the children of freed slaves.

Amy will be the first White House child to attend the District of Columbia public schools since Quentin Roosevelt in 1906. It could be a turning point for what may be one of the nation's most extensively segregated school systems.

During the campaign, President-elect Carter chided "elitist liberals" who send their children to private schools in Washington. Although this fit his anti-Washington theme, it also fit his running mate, Vice President-designate Mondale.

►Brown v. Board of Education.

When separate but equal was the pedagogical law of the land, the nation's capitol had a fine (if racist) school system. People like Robert Weaver, Gen. "Chap-pie" James and Duke Ellington came up on the black side of the system; people like Birch Bayh and Kate Smith on the white.

But when *Brown v. Board of Education* came down in 1954, the District of Columbia was among the eight jurisdictions ordered to abandon racial segregation in their schools. Top-quality high schools like Cardozo (white) and Dunbar (black) became mixed, neighborhood schools. But, after *Brown*, the level of appropriations for district schools dictated by Congress, steadily decreased and with that the quality as well.

The House District of Columbia Committee and the House District appropriations subcommittee had long been fiefdoms of well-tenured, white, Southern congressmen. In their view, the deterioration of the district education system was evidence of the evil of desegregation and not, as might instead have been argued, the evil of underappropriation.

►The Exodus.

This Genesis had its Exodus. Although the district had a large black population from its inception during the Washing-

ton and Adams administrations, the black portion swelled in recent decades as whites flocked to the suburbs.

School desegregation was only one reason. Others, among many, were the district crime rate and the remarkably high costs of real estate, purchase or rental.

The district is about 71 percent black. Most of the remaining whites are affluent enough to send their children to readily available, high-quality private schools. The district public school system is 95.2 percent black. There are perhaps seven or eight elementary schools that retain a white majority, but they are mainly clustered in the "west of the Park" district of Washington—well west of the White House.

►146 black, 24 Hispanic, 26 white, 13 "other."

At Stevens, which Rosalynn Carter recently visited with an eye toward Amy's admission, there are 146 black pupils, 24 Hispanic, 26 American whites and 13 "others," mainly Asian.

("We hate to mess around with these racial figures," says Jane Harley, for 20 years a Stevens fixture and now its guidance counselor, "but [the] Health-Education-and-Welfare [Department] requires it.")

Stevens is on 21st St.; the White House on 16th. Five blocks is close, and Rosalynn Carter said she liked Stevens. (Pictures of Amy were on the bulletin board when her mother visited and fourth-graders had been invited to write letters urging Amy to come to Stevens.)

There is, whether apparent or real, the problem of security. Presumably Amy would be safer at a small school like Stevens. But the Secret Service isn't talking.

►Mondale's children go to private schools.

Fritz Mondale, who lives in the shadow of aging John Eaton School, only blocks away from the Episcopal Cathedral, sent his three children to Eaton, the neighborhood school, only until they would have had to have moved to a junior high school or high school a mile or so away.

Then one Mondale went to Georgetown Day School, which, though no longer located in Georgetown, retains much of the flavor of that exclusive district. One went to the National Cathedral School for girls where Lynda Byrd Johnson got her high school diploma. The third went to St. Albans, also known as the

National Cathedral School for Boys.

►Rumored application to NCS.

There was a persistent rumor around Washington before the Nov. 28 announcement that the Carters had also applied to have Amy admitted to National Cathedral School.

The school isn't talking about that. "We wouldn't talk about any pupil; it's the parents' place to say, if they want to." And Jody Powell's press office in Americus, Ga., simply says, "Jody says we don't have anything on that."

The district schools have become better, and one can believe Rosalynn Carter's statement that she was impressed by Stevens. Although it is the oldest (1868) of the public schools still in use, it has been improved a great deal in recent years.

►Diplomats and interzonal transfers.

Although the Stevens district is sprawling, not many people with children live in downtown Washington. There are the President and some others, mostly diplomats.

Almost a third of Stevens' pupils are children of foreign diplomats based here who live in the area.

Many of the other pupils are there because of "interzonal transfers for purpose of child care"—their parents work in neighboring office buildings, so the children get to go to school there. The school is open after class hours for children of working parents.

Amy's going to Stevens might mark the beginning of a new day for a school system wracked by recent controversy.

White patrons of the public schools, who on occasion have invited busing and have bought advertising to encourage use of their schools, are pulling for Amy.

So are the children in the fourth grade at Stevens. (12 black, three Hispanic, three "other," remember?)

When Rosalynn Carter visited the school, she was presented with from 10 to 12 letters from children of that class urging Amy to join them.

On the other hand, it was a class assignment.

Joe Holt Anderson is a former editor of *Potomac*, Sunday magazine of the *Washington Post* and assistant news editor on the *Post*.

IN THE WORLD

Cuba seeks to ease tensions, entertains U.S. policymakers

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

United Nations. The cocktail party, held in the U.N. enclave in New York, was not an unusual one. Guests included diplomats, journalists, university professors, foundation officials and several chic, thirtysix women.

In one corner, two Cuban diplomats were engaged in heated argument. They were arguing with each other, not with Americans. Whether the Cubans were aware of it, their amicable but lively debate had a highly favorable effect on other guests.

"I've visited many communist countries," one U.S. foreign policy expert said, "and you just never see a pair of Russian or Chinese officials disagree with each other in public. I find the Cubans likeable and impressive."

United Nations membership is important to Cuba, but Cuba's New York mission is vital to its growing dialog with Americans—a dialog more lively than ever despite the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries for more than 15 years.

The objective of Cuba's New York diplomacy is so clear that not even Cubans make a secret of it. Though the official course of U.S.-Cuban detente has been blocked following Cuban military intervention in Angola, an unofficial, behind-the-scenes Cuban effort to promote renewed diplomatic relations is flourishing.

From the U.N. mission, Cuban diplomats armed with invitations to Havana have been seeking out Americans they believe will be influential policymakers.

►A small stream.

As a result, the trickle of important American visitors to Cuba—including legislative assistants and members of the major northeastern universities, think tanks and foundations—has grown into a small stream. Several small air-charter firms in Miami have even begun specializing in flying American visitors south across the straits of Florida to Havana.

The visitors tend to be personally conservative, even when they favor major liberalization in U.S. foreign policy, and therefore their personal reactions are especially interesting. Most such visitors dislike Cuba's austerity. But they are greatly impressed by Cuba's social accomplishments and they remark again and again about the absence of secret police, the lack of fear among Cubans, their friendliness and their frankness even in political discussions with foreigners.

Even during the darkest days of the U.S.-Cuban confrontation, Americans and Cubans retained much in common for the simple reason that historically no other Latin American country, not even Mexico, has been so close to the U.S. Cuba's America-watchers seem correctly to have recognized that they can only gain by giving Americans a largely unimpeded look at themselves and the socialist society they have built since Castro entered Havana in 1959.

Why, nonetheless, are Cubans so eager to re-establish diplomatic relations with a country that historically has exploited Cuba and which, since 1960, has done everything to it from blockading the country to conspiring to have its national leader assassinated?

►Cuba didn't do it.

Both Americans and Cubans point out that Cuba did not break off diplomatic relations with the U.S. or withdraw from the Organization of American States. Rather it was the U.S. that severed ties and attempted to ostracize Cuba from inter-American relations.

"They are also terribly proud of what they have done," said another visitor to Cuba, Richard Haas, who is an American Rhodes scholar and former legislative assistant to Sen. Claiborne Pell (R-R.I.). "Yet in spite of the total independence they now have from America, we are still terribly important to them. It is almost as though by re-establishing ties with Washington they would gain the final, ultimate legitimacy."

Cuban officials frankly state they would benefit from renewed trade ties with the U.S. and from access to American technology. And in return, high-ranking Cuban officials, in marathon conversations with visiting Americans, have offered the possibility of what once were some unthinkable concessions.

According to Americans recently returning from Cuba, these include an end to the propaganda war with the U.S.; some form of reconciliation with the Cuban exile community in America, which amounts to 10 percent of the entire Cuban population; an end to Cuban pressure at the U.N. and elsewhere for Puerto Rican independence, and even discussing the question of compensation for nationalized American holdings in Cuba.

Cuban officials, while strongly defending the Angola intervention, state that it was a product of unique circumstances, among them Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's own unwarranted hostility to Angola's MPLA. They point out that they have counseled the Angolan government to establish diplomatic relations with all nations, including the U.S.

The question cannot help posing itself: Is the Cuban eagerness for relations with the U.S. a function of the same dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union that has driven countries as diverse as Ghana, Egypt and China into better relations with Washington?

Conservative American visitors to Cuba state that the Russian presence, while very important, is discreet, respectful of Cuban sovereignty and in unusually frank discussions with Cubans no trace of irritation with the Soviet Union emerged. "Of course, they can never forget what [former Soviet leader] Khrushchev did during the missile crisis," one such American remarked. "But there also is the fact that Moscow itself favors Cuban-U.S. detente."

T.D. Allman, a member of St. Antony's College in Oxford, recently completed a research fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

IN SHORT

Cuba installs new assembly

Havana. Cuba celebrated Dec. 20 the 20th anniversary of the landing of Prime Minister Fidel Castro's guerrillas by parading its weaponry in Revolution Square and installing its first National Assembly since the 1959 revolution. The assembly elected Castro president of the new 31-member Council of State, meaning that he in effect would become Cuban president, prime minister, Communist party leader and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

—Reuter

Opposition meets in Spain

Madrid. The Spanish opposition Dec. 1 challenged Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez to a test of strength by including a Communist in a group chosen to negotiate with the premier on the government's political reform program. The law legalizing formation of political parties last July after 40 years of Francoist dictatorship maintained a ban on Communists. A communique issued after a meeting of opposition leaders said the negotiating committee would consist of one Communist; one representative each for the Basque provinces, Catalonia and Galicia; one for the illegal trade unions; two Liberals, and one for Christian Democrats.

—Reuter

Italian CP in WEU

Paris. Italian Communist members of Parliament were applauded Nov. 29 when they took their seats for their first time in a Western European defense body, the Western European Union—a grouping of seven European nations—following their party's election successes earlier this year. The Italians immediately joined French Communist members to form a group of their own and demanded seats in key assembly committees.

—Reuter

International business stuck in slump

Top item on Carter's agenda

By Jan Austin
Internews

Berkeley, Calif. The slowdown in economic recovery in the major non-communist industrial nations is expected to be among top items on President-elect Carter's agenda when he takes office in January.

Business analysts are saying the question will require immediate attention and there are already predictions in Europe of an economic summit conference early in the Carter administration.

The slowdown dimensions were indicated in a new forecast issued in November by economists at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which groups all the major non-communist industrial powers. The experts scaled down their growth predictions in the 24 OECD countries in the first half of 1977 from 5.25 to 4.3 percent. The OECD had already lowered its growth estimates in the second half of this year from 5 to 3.5 percent.

The recovery, warned *Business Week* Nov. 1, is "stumbling in its tracks"—particularly in Western Europe and Japan—raising the "specter of a new, prolonged

slowdown abroad even before the debris of the last one, the worst in four decades, has been cleared away."

Why the unexpected slowdown? The standard explanation given by business journals and analysts is that the initial recovery was spurred by increased consumer spending, which isn't increasing as quickly as expected, and the replenishing of industrial stockpiles, (which has apparently been completed). But the key element, capital spending, never appeared.

"What is clear," *Business Week* said Nov. 15, is that "policies adopted by various governments have worked against restoring business confidence and stimulating capital investment."

►Go-slow approach.

Those policies, known as the go-slow approach, had been generally backed up by business. They are based on the view that the No. 1 problem is fighting inflation and the only way to do it is through restrained growth. With the U.S. in the lead, seven top industrial countries agreed at last June's economic summit in Puerto Rico to hold growth to 5.5 percent. Now it is clear the go-slow strategy produced even lower than its proponents had anti-

cipated, without eliminating high inflation.

Faced with these results, Western economists are putting the squeeze on the oil-producing countries, hoping to head off an expected hike in oil prices. The OPEC countries are expected to consider price increases of 10 to 25 percent when they meet in Qatar Dec. 15.

OECD economists reportedly believe the non-communist industrial nations could live with a price increase of 10 percent or less. Anything higher, they say, would require more drastic revisions in their forecasts for Western growth. The U.S. is taking a harder line, pressing publicly for no price increase at all.

So far, Carter has said he hopes oil prices will not be raised, but has resisted taking joint action with President Ford to prevent it—reportedly because he does not want to bear responsibility for a policy he did not develop.

Once in office, Carter is expected by analysts to advocate a policy sharply different from Ford's go-slow approach, seeking instead to stimulate the economy to grow faster—possibly with wage-price guidelines at some point to control inflationary effects. A similar strategy shift

was urged in early November at a tripartite conference of private economists from Western Europe, Japan and the U.S., sponsored on the U.S. end by the Brookings Institution. The conference concluded that "domestic economic policies geared to stimulate economic activity should be adopted by Germany, Japan and the U.S."

Carter's economic advisers apparently agree that growth in the three strongest economies will help pull others up by providing bigger markets for their goods.

►Obstacles ahead.

Among obstacles to such a shift in strategy are Western central bankers and the International Monetary Fund, which are firmly committed to restrained growth to fight inflation.

Carter would also have to persuade Germany and Japan to join in stimulating their economies. He would at the same time have to convince the governments of Britain, Italy and France that, while the stronger economies are gunning their engines and reducing domestic unemployment, those three must stick for now to strict anti-inflationary policies that are under growing attack from their own workers.

Half-million prisoners in 112 countries

For more than 500,000 persons in at least 112 countries, Dec. 10 is a day they may well long remember.

Dec. 10 is Human Rights Day, so proclaimed by the U.N., and this year it marks the opening of Prisoners of Conscience Year by Amnesty International, the international human rights organization. The year will conclude with a conference in Stockholm, Sweden, at which the abolition of capital punishment will be urged.

Those 500,000 persons in 112 countries are the "prisoners of conscience" that Amnesty is talking about—persons imprisoned anywhere for their beliefs, color, language, ethnic origin or religion. Amnesty speaks for all of them—provided they have not used or advocated violence.

Amnesty itself has grown since its founding in 1961 to 97,000 members (27,000 in the last year alone) in 78 countries, making it the largest nongovernmental human rights body in the world. It has consultative status with the U.N., the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Council of Europe; cooperative links with the Organization of American States and observer status with the Organization of African Unity.

At its recent policymaking session in Strasbourg, West Germany, its International Council expressed "indignation" at the assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean minister, and an aide in Washington.

More than half of the world's political prisoners are in Asia—the bulk of them in Indonesia and India. As many as

100,000 persons are in the 11th year of imprisonment in Indonesia. Many of them are former members of the Indonesian Communist party who were rounded up after Sukarno's downfall in 1965. In India, at least 40,000 (and perhaps 100,000) are in jail without trial for political reasons since Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's administration declared a state of emergency in June, 1975.

Another priority area for Amnesty is the "southern cone" of South America (Chile, Argentina and Uruguay), where military rule has led to virtual elimination of civil liberties.

Since mid-October, Amnesty has spotlighted these areas in particular:

•Amnesty welcomed the Nov. 16 announcement by the Chilean government of the release of about 300 political prisoners. Chilean authorities asserted the released prisoners represent the total held without trial under the country's state of siege. But Amnesty records show releases only affected detainees held in the officially recognized camps of Tres Alamos, Cuatro Alamos and Puchuncavi.

The announcement specifically excluded 18 prisoners detained in those camps. Puchuncavi prisoners transferred to another place of detention a few weeks before the releases are also excluded.

Amnesty has information that other prisoners not covered are held without trial under the state of siege elsewhere in Chile. A spokesman said the releases do not include political prisoners on trial or those who have been sentenced. These number more than 1,000, despite the release and exile of many prisoners over

the past few months. A subject of particular Amnesty urgency is the fate of 1,500 persons arrested since September, 1973, who have "disappeared."

•Amnesty published Nov. 14 a list of 167 trade unionists imprisoned or missing in 16 countries throughout the world. It said many are detained because of their membership in trade unions or for political activities associated with trade unionism in violation of Article 23(4) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which asserts the right of everyone to "form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests."

Many are held without charge or trial and some have been subjected to "torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" in violation of Article 5 of the declaration.

Amnesty emphasized that the list was confined only to those cases known to its research department as of Sept. 30 and was by no means complete as to numbers and countries.

"There are almost certainly more trade unionists detained in the world and equally certainly more countries that are holding trade unionists in custody," it said in an introduction to the list.

The 16 countries are Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chile, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Rhodesia, Singapore, Tunisia and Uruguay.

Amnesty said international and national trade union organizations are being asked to intervene on behalf of the detainees.

•Amnesty reported in early Nov. that

its investigations indicate Iran supports perhaps the most repressive system of justice in the world.

According to Amnesty, the shah of Iran has abolished all of that nation's civilian courts, has imprisoned up to 100,000 citizens for political beliefs and has presided this year over the highest number of official executions on earth.

An Amnesty research team concluded, after talking to survivors of Iran's prisons, that systematic methods of torture used against Iranian inmates are "beyond belief."

Iran is the largest single recipient of U.S. armaments, the shah having purchased more than \$10 billion in American weaponry in four years.

The U.S. government recently agreed to assign 60,000 American advisers in Iran to supervise and train Iranian personnel in using sophisticated weapons being installed there.

According to Amnesty, the political activities of virtually every Iranian are being monitored by a system of 20,000 agents working for SAVAK, the nationwide intelligence-gathering police force that operates both in Iran and abroad.

•Amnesty Oct. 28 wrote to President Ahmad Hassan Al Bakr of Iraq expressing concern at the arrest, torture and execution of Kurds in Iraq since hostilities ceased in March, 1975, and despite the general amnesty announced then and extended until October, 1975.

•Amnesty said Oct. 24 that several hundred people suspected of opposing the government on Taiwan are detained there after secret trials by military courts. ■



Photo by Image Arts—SD

A young Vietnamese arrives in U.S. in 1975 following the Vietnamese victory.

Refugees everywhere

U.N. agency tries to help the displaced and exiled

Geneva, Switzerland. A temporary organization grappling with an eternal problem: this is the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Temporary, because its mandate to protect and help men, women and children forced to flee their homes is valid for only five years at a time and has to be renewed by the General Assembly.

Eternal, for the evil it seeks to alleviate—persecution because of race, religion, nationality or political opinion—is as old as the world itself.

An intergovernmental body set up in 1951 to find homes for hundreds of thousands of Europeans uprooted by World War II, the office stretches a helping hand to victims of coups and conflicts in Africa, Latin America and the Far and Middle East.

It began with a staff of 13 and a budget of \$330,000. Today it employs 500 people, half of them scattered around the world, and last year it spent about \$30 million. Headquarters officials under the high commissioner, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, son of a multimillionaire, occupy 130 offices on the two top floors of a new wing of Geneva's sprawling labyrinthine Palais des Nations.

Documents that pass across desks inside portray a picture of misery, suffering, hardship and fear:

•Families fleeing from Indochina crammed in a leaky fishing boat, rescued from drowning by a passing freighter, then refused permission to land by authorities at a Southeast Asian port.

•Exiles from Chile and other Latin American countries living for months in hostels in Argentina in dread of assassination, kidnapping and torture as they wait for other lands to open their doors to give them shelter.

•One million Africans needing food, clothes, blankets, cooking utensils, farm tools and seeds as they return to village homes in Angola from which they were driven during anti-colonialist fighting and civil strife.

In the early days many imagined the organization would go out of business

after it had cleared the camps throughout Europe still housing war refugees and had found homes for people who fled countries at the height of the cold war.

But the Algerian struggle for independence from France, Africa's emergence from colonial rule and conflicts in Southeast Asia uprooted hundreds of thousands and it was to the office they turned for help.

The high commissioner's mandate extends to people who have left their home country and cannot or do not want to return because of well-founded fear of persecution.

It does not cover refugees receiving assistance from other U.N. bodies—such as the Palestine refugees in the Mideast for whom the U.N. Relief and Works Agency was created—or people still within boundaries of their own states although driven from their homes.

In this role of "humanitarian troubleshooter," as U.N. officials describe it, the high commissioner was able to assist half-a-million people returning to their homes in southern Sudan after 17 years of civil war between the Arab north and the black south.

Another such special operation was the transfer of 250,000 people in groups going from Pakistan to Bangladesh, and from Bangladesh and Nepal to Pakistan after the Bangladesh war of 1971.

In Laos and Vietnam, the office helped resettle hundreds of thousands who fled their homes during the Indochina conflict. In Cyprus the office coordinated help for islanders uprooted by fighting between Greek Cypriots and invading Turkish troops in 1974.

Officials say about four-fifths of office funds are contributed by 15 countries: Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, U.S., Canada, Britain, West Germany, Japan, Australia, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria and Italy. Other contributors are New Zealand and France. East European communist countries assist mostly with aid in kind delivered directly. For example, the Soviet Union provided an aircraft to help with repatriation between Pakistan and Bangladesh. —Reuter

Socialism and workers control

Socialism must be approached through defense of democracy.

By Ken Coates

Nottingham, England. Increasingly, socialist and communist parties in Western Europe are realizing that socialism must be approached through continuous, radical defense of all major points of bourgeois democracy and extension of democratic safeguards throughout industrial and social life.

In France, Belgium, Italy and England, the lessons of Yugoslav socialism have been marked by considerable increase in interest and activity around concepts of workers' control and self-management. The French left's common program, the Belgian FGTB's workers' control program, the Italian Communist party's strategy and the 1973 British Labor party's program all directly reflect these concerns.

Reinforced by awareness of accelerating transnational corporate growth and by problems that this poses for national governments, the notion of industrial democracy is becoming a major element in all socialist thinking throughout Western Europe.

In Britain this process received considerable stimulus from the experiences, in the main lamentable, of the Wilson Labor governments of 1964-70. Conventional planning collapsed beneath the weight of economic adversity. This became plain when a much-advertised national plan failed at the period's beginning. Subsequent attempts to devise economic controls to stimulate growth all fell far below both planners needs and intentions.

In this "laboratory," Stuart Holland, a young prime ministerial adviser, began to elaborate his indictment of transnational companies that, he insisted, were increasingly able to subvert, override or evade governmental policies.

Holland identified, between macro and micro economic sectors as understood in Keynesian terms, a third, or mesoeconomic sector. Using this it was possible to elaborate a program for facing up to, isolating and where necessary subordinating the power of 21 giant transnational companies that dominated three-quarters of the non-nationalized British economy. The Labor party National Executive Committee by an effective majority agreed to campaign on these issues.

These developments within the political wing of Labor were paralleled by the growth within trade unions of a new radical school of thought. The stimulus here was partly that of the growing workers' control lobby, but much more that of unexpected adversity.

As the Wilson administration became less capable of securing shifts in industrial priorities, it became more convinced that the only way forward lay through restoring profitability curtailing and reorienting trade-union powers. Proposals for this were laid before Parliament in a white paper, "In Place of Strife," which provoked a major party crisis.

►Conservatives won.

Immediately afterward, Conservatives won the 1970 general election and introduced anti-trade-union legislation that went considerably beyond the original Wilson proposals but faithfully reflected the original spirit.

The resultant struggle, which since 1974 has been decisively won by the unions, triggered far-reaching debate on trade-union strategy and produced consensus that industrial democracy could serve as a principal means of reversing the pressures. It also could put capital under a squeeze similar to the one to which labor had been subjected under the Industrial Relations Act.

The major architect of this realization was Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who—after a frustrating stint as technology minister in the late '60s, during which he made a vain search for industrial efficiency



Protesters marching on Parliament against cuts in school budgets

Photo by UPI

through corporate mergers—became convinced of the need for active state intervention in extending workers' control. Benn has recorded his excitement when during 1969 he was "kidnapped" by shop stewards at the G.E.C. combine in Liverpool, where workers at three electrical plants were planning a subsequently abortive "work-in" to continue production in resistance against cutbacks.

Soon after the '70 electoral defeat these experiences and others made him a leading spokesman of the yard occupation by shipbuilders at the Upper Clyde shipbuilding consortium, which provided a catalytic lesson to trade unionists to develop new methods of struggle against cutbacks.

Benn was able to provide the growing rank-and-file movement for workers' control with an institutional voice, giving a burning focus to a thousand scattered but painful discontents. All the Heath administration forays against time-honored trade-union liberties only served to stimulate a wider response to this movement. Within years of the '71 Upper Clyde initiative, 200 enterprises had been occupied, either through "work-ins" or more conventional "sit-ins," and there were several direct experiments in co-operative self-management.

Until Labor's '74 re-election, these twin reactions converged. The high point of their convergence was adoption of 1973 of the new party program, which not only appreciated the new analytic lessons for planning policy, but also recognized the industrial democracy development as an integral component for planning the answering strategy.

The new state-intervention proposals concerned nationalizing private-sector leaders rather than "lame ducks:" a National Enterprise Board was invested with interventionist powers and no further public funds were placed privately without surrender of control. (By 1974 the public dole to the ailing private sector had reached flood proportions.) Most significantly, transnational companies were brought under squeeze of tripartite, mandatory planning agreements in which government, companies and unions were compelled to join in disclosure of relevant financial information. All this would manifestly have given vast powers to shop stewards and also would have presented serious obstacles to such company policies as transfer pricing, which commonly reduce the value of governmental economic measures concerning the meso-sector to that of the paper on which they are printed.

►Benn strategy annulled.

But after a convulsive initial period, the

Benn strategy was temporarily contained, blocked and ultimately annulled and the administration proved able to employ its more conservative parliamentary basis to neutralize trade union pressures and to ignore the overwhelming opinion of the party's rank and file as reflected in party conferences.

This was made possible by left Labor's defeat in the 1975 Common Market referendum and through a policy of implementing diluted components of the party's program.

Union cooperation was secured by repealing conservative legislation and speedily enacting radical measures extending trade-union powers to defend their own "corporate" interests. The new industrial democracy laws were promised later in the parliamentary five-year timetable. A run on the pound and the general atmosphere of crisis and inflation were next employed, alongside a general and justified fear of coalition government, to frighten and cajole major unions into tolerating, in the interim, overtly monetarist "solutions" to the immediate stringency. The left found itself temporarily isolated, confined to the constituencies and a troubled minority of trade-union activists.

On the surface, then, none of this constitutes a powerful inducement to hope for a rapid advance to socialism in Britain.

Yet, beneath the surface, while a continuing economic crisis exerts a continuous, indeed remorseless, pressure on all British institutions, the recent evolution of Labor politics reflects a sea-change in political consciousness.

First of all, even the most conservative spokesmen within the Labor government operate within a climate that compels them to move toward a major electoral battle on issues of industrial democracy and devolution of powers.

The fragility of the parliamentary balance is such that it could be shattered many ways, not excluding emergence of a conservative-oriented coalition rupturing both major parliamentary parties. But it is difficult to see how Labor, however it might enter the next election, with whatever proportion of its parliamentary forces ultimately held intact, could conceivably avoid centering its electoral appeal around the need for democracy in industry. No other plausible positive proposals exist.

►Unfavorable circumstances?

Such a campaign might unwind in most unfavorable circumstances, but it will necessarily reinforce a powerful current of trade-union rank-and-file opinion,

which is already explicitly concerned with erosion of managerial prerogatives and encroachment of trade-union controls over wider areas of industrial policy.

At the same time, the growth of welfare institutions has created a parallel problem of democratic accountability, since bureaucracies that have evolved in administering social services have had organizational models taken, by default, almost entirely from the hierarchical examples of large companies.

Both trade unions of employees in these services and growing welfare pressure groups in the fields of housing, education, health and culture realize that open and accountable democratic forms of association are indispensable to good use of available social amenities and absolutely vital to campaigning for a reallocation of resources that could begin to assure the services' adequate functioning. Such convictions are not eroded in the least by the considerable welfare-spending cuts being imposed now.

Even within capitalist structures, in which market pressures always distort social policy decisions, there have arisen sufficiently strong welfare organizations to begin to validate the notion of "need" as opposed to "demand" and thus to place a powerful question mark over certain basic assumptions of capitalist practice. Reductions in public spending reinforce these questions.

►Coming to grips.

The more advanced trade unions have already come to grips with such problems as these, both in the territory of privately-owned manufacturing industry and also of public services. Basing ourselves on the experience of these trade unions, Tony Topham and I attempted to generalize demands under four specific headings:

"The powers that workers need may be summed up in four words: power to obtain information, to establish supervision over management activity, to impose a veto on arbitrary decisions and to obtain representation for workers to carry out these functions.

"The areas of decision-making to which these powers should apply include literally the whole field of industrial activity. Wages and working conditions have long been generally accepted as legitimate trade-union territory, but even here a considerable and permanent struggle continues that, even when pursued with the greatest vigor by unions, only succeeds in preserving the status quo with great difficulty.

Continued on page 14



By Bonne Nesbitt
National Staff Writer

By the latter part of November 1969, Fred Hampton was worried. As chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther party, he was upset by the lack of discipline and internal dissension that had

reached the ranks of his own staff members. He was also worried about the problem of security. There had been three raids against the party's westside headquarters since April. And as police violence against the party continued to escalate, he'd become more and more determined to purge those he suspected of being provocateurs and informants.

One of these was the chapter's former chief of security, William O'Neal. O'Neal didn't often speak in meetings, but privately he argued for more militancy, and constantly agitated for the formation of an underground to carry out terrorist-style kidnappings, bombings and robberies of armories. One day O'Neal showed up at headquarters with a satchel full of plastic explosives complete with plans to use them. He always had money that he claimed to have gotten from "hustling" and various illegal schemes.

Hampton and others strongly opposed this "militant" line, as did the party's central committee in Oakland. But O'Neal's agitation had not been without effect.

Many rank and file members were not working effectively on the party's programs within the community, like the free medical center, nearly ready to open on the city's westside, or the free breakfast for children program, which was feeding several thousand children a week. Such programs seemed tame in comparison to O'Neal's commando raids.

►Not much time.

Hampton was determined to get rid of what he believed was essentially a criminal element within the party and he felt he didn't have much time. He knew the Oakland-based central committee was considering him as a possible replacement for Panther Chief of Staff Dave Hilliard, which meant he might have to leave Chicago.

On Friday, Nov. 21, 1969, Hampton ordered all branch coordinators around the state to attend a conference at the Chicago headquarters. They were told to report by 10:00 Monday morning and to be prepared to stay for a week or more.

Harold Bell, former Rockford coordinator, vividly recalls what happened at the first meeting. "Everyone was purged from the party except Rush (Bobby Rush, Illinois Defense Minister) and Fred. It had been approved by the central committee. From then on, we were all on probation. We had to earn our way back into the party. Each individual would be evaluated on his work and on his political understanding."

Ronald "Doc" Satchel, the party's Minister of Health, was also present and recalls that some people were expelled from the party outright. He especially remembers that "O'Neal practically cried to stay in the party. Fred wanted to expel O'Neal, but O'Neal pleaded to stay, and O'Neal had a certain following. So an exception was made and he was not expelled."

The Panther Conference ended on the morning of Dec. 4, 1969. Bell and Doc Satchel were there when it happened. And so was Mark Clark, the party's Peoria coordinator.

►The raid.

Just past 5 a.m. that morning, the first radio reports began to circulate. There had been a shootout between States Attorney's police and members of the Panther party in Hampton's westside apartment, they said. Hampton and Mark Clark had been killed and four of the seven other Panthers in the apartment had been wounded.

A few hours later the newspapers were filled with accounts of how 14 policemen armed with a search warrant, extra revolvers, shotguns and a machine gun, had raided the Hampton apartment at 4:40 a.m. looking for "illegal weapons." Police

officers, the stories said, had knocked at the front door of the small two-bedroom apartment and identified themselves, only to be met with Panther gunfire that touched off a blazing battle.

One of the papers, the *Chicago Sun Times*, printed the official accounts and one thing more: A small story, buried on page 38, contradicted the police claims of a shootout. The *Sun Times* reporter, the first on the scene, said all of the shots seemed to have been fired into the apartment. He had seen no holes in the opposite walls where one would have expected to find them had there been gunfire from the Panthers.

That was the first story to challenge the statements of the raiding policemen. But for the moment it was largely ignored. Nobody could have then predicted the Hampton apartment raid would become the most thoroughly investigated, if not controversial, police action in Chicago history. Certainly not the *Sun Times* reporter who quit his job in anger over the obscure placement of his story. Nor even the Panthers who were already saying Hampton had been murdered under the guise of a weapons raid.

►Apartment opened for inspection.

States Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, whose office conducted the raid, was completely unprepared for what followed. The police department was so lackadaisical they hadn't even bothered to order the apartment sealed—a standard procedure at the scene of a crime or any unnatural death.

This proved to be a monumental blunder, because the Panthers in a master stroke of public relations, immediately opened the apartment to public inspection. Convinced that Hampton was murdered, they defied anyone to find evidence of a shootout.

Within three weeks, thousands of people had toured the apartment at 2337 W. Monroe St. Its smallness, coupled with the location and numbers of police bullet holes in the walls, shocked most people. But most clearly, Hampton's blood-soaked mattress made it sickeningly plain that the Panther leader was killed while sleeping in his bed.

Hanrahan, in a futile attempt to quell the mounting criticism, staged a televised re-enactment of the raid on the local CBS-owned station. Pictures of what was supposedly a back door filled with Panther bullet holes, later shown to be nail heads, were released exclusively to the *Chicago Tribune*, which published them without verification. The *Tribune* later discovered and reported the error.

Suddenly there were calls for an investigation, and representatives of the outraged black community conducted several highly publicized "unofficial inquiries."

►Investigations and court suits follow.

By the end of 1972, there would be a total of five official investigations into the raid, including a federal grand jury, and two county grand jury investigations. One of the latter, led by a special prosecutor, finally indicted Hanrahan and his raiders on a charge of conspiracy. But all were acquitted in a bench trial before a friendly machine judge at the end of 1972.

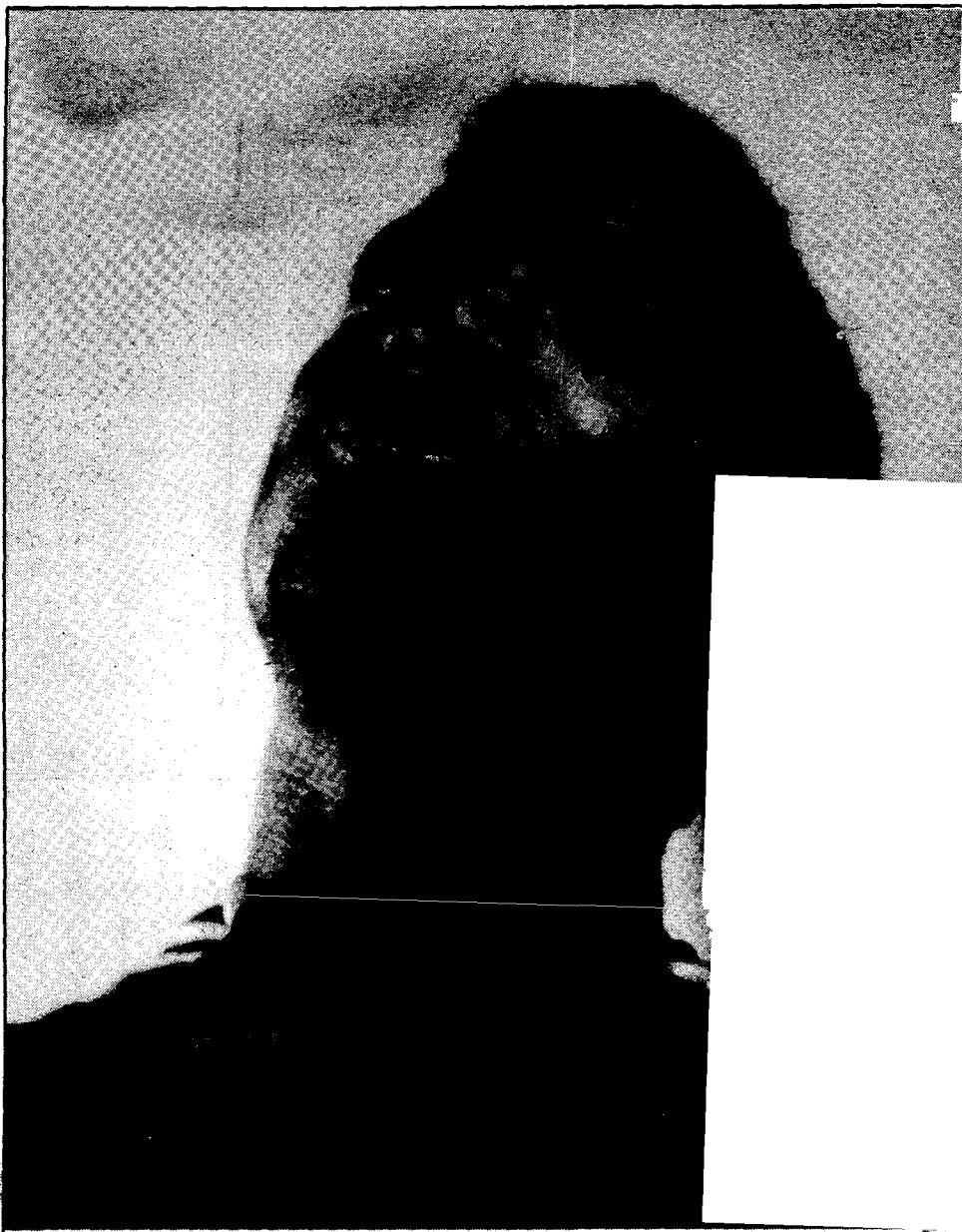
Meanwhile, the families of Hampton and Clark and the seven surviving Panthers filed a civil suit against the raiders in the U.S. 7th District Court of the Northern District of Illinois in the spring of 1970. The suit sought damages amounting to \$47.7 million against Hanrahan, two of his assistants and the policemen, for personal injuries and the unlawful deaths of Hampton and Clark.

It took two years and two appellate decisions to include Hanrahan as a defendant. U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry had immediately dismissed him from the suit on the grounds that as States Attorney he was immune from civil prosecutions.

The 7th Circuit Court of Appeals overturned this finding, however, saying that Hanrahan in authorizing the raid had acted in the role of policeman rather than prosecutor and he was therefore liable. The Illinois Supreme Court later upheld this decision.

Another delay of nearly a year was caused by Hanrahan's conspiracy trial, which ended in acquittal.

Remembering the r Chicago Panthers ir



Photos by Paul Se

Fred Hampton speaking above, mourned at right. "He constantly talked about how there wasn't enough time..."

In 1973, the Panther plaintiffs finally began taking pre-trial discovery and the first major break of the case occurred when it was learned there was a connecting link between the Hampton raid and the FBI. The link was through an informant. The informant was William O'Neal.

O'Neal and three FBI officials were joined to the suit as defendants on Dec. 3, 1974—almost five years to the day after the Hampton apartment raid.

The case went to trial in January, 1976, and is now in its 11th month. The climax of the trial is expected this week, after O'Neal himself has taken the stand.

Some who were later to become Panthers got interested in the party in unexpected ways. Debra Johnson, the mother of Fred Hampton's son, fell in love. Ronald "Doc" Satchel, who became Minister of Health in Illinois, read a series of articles in Ramparts magazine. Louis Truelock kept a promise to visit a man he met in jail who turned out to be Fred Hampton. The following are recollections of life in the party as told by four survivors of the Hampton apartment raid.

"I had heard a lot of different things about the Black Panther party and at first I thought it was some kind of street gang," Doc Satchel said. "But then *Ramparts* magazine ran a series of articles about the Panthers and there was a rally at Circle with some speakers. That's when I met Fred."

"Doc," as he was known within the party, was an 18-year-old pre-med student at the University of Illinois Circle Campus when he joined the party in November of 1968. He later became Minister of Health and a member of the party's central committee in Illinois. He was shot six times during the raid.

The party in Illinois was only a few weeks old when Doc joined; "It was a very close family-knit thing at that time," he recalls. "We'd talk about books, like the Communist Manifesto, Lenin, Fanon, etc. Or we'd listen to recordings by Malcolm (X) and try to figure out what works to do."

►A lack of direction at first.

A lot of time those days was also taken with "instilling discipline" with exercise such as the "Do Jo," which required members to sit perfectly still for 24 hours without food.

"There was some confusion about what we were," he explained. "Some thought we were supposed to be a political organization and some thought we were supposed to be military; they thought we were the black liberation army. We didn't get any direction until some members of the central committee got arrested here."

But as a result of the incident we got more direction. We hadn't any contact with Oakland before. We found out we were political organization. And during this time we purged some people we really couldn't deal with."

►Police harassment from start.

Almost from the very beginning "the police started to harass and arrest us," Doc said. Several Panthers were arrested on the southside for meeting with members of the Black P. Stone Nation street gang.

"There were numerous arrests when we started selling the paper and when we wear the uniform," Doc said. Uniform "Yes, at one time, when we were still confused about what we were, we were required to wear a uniform. Black beret, green flannel jacket, blue jeans or black pants and combat boots. When the police saw us dressed like that there were lots of arrests."

id 7 years ago: life and death



As police pressure on the group intensified, the arrests moved from the streets to the Panther westside headquarters at 2350 W. Madison St. There were three raids on the office in 1969. The first one was in June, 1969, when "the FBI called the office and said 'you're surrounded'. A few minutes later the agents came in with a warrant on George Sams, who was wanted in connection with the Bobby Seale case. He wasn't there," Doc says, "but the agents stole money and files, and ransacked the entire office."

Panther homes became the next target, said Doc, who believes a mock raid was staged by police on Hampton's apartment two weeks before the actual raid.

Several members of the party, including Doc, believe Hampton had a premonition of his coming death. "He constantly talked about how there wasn't enough time. And he was upset about the security of the party and the security cadre. O'Neal wasn't in charge of security then, but Fred didn't feel it was functioning as it should and suspected O'Neal of being an informant."

"There was a divided feeling about O'Neal in the party. O'Neal would mop the office floors and do a lot of hard work. But he would never do political work like organizing, talking to people, or selling the Panther newspaper. He said he didn't want to be out on the street 'frontin' where the cops could see him," Doc recalled.

"I remember a couple of times when O'Neal filled his car trunk with (Panther) newspapers and paid for them, rather than sell them. Fred wanted to expel O'Neal because he was suspicious of how he always had money. O'Neal said he got the money from being a hustler."

"There was a meeting around April of 1969 about his (O'Neal's) status. At the

time he was Captain of the Security Cadre. Some thought he should remain. Fred compromised and removed him from the head of security, but let him remain on the security cadre."

Harold Bell, coordinator of the party's Rockford branch, added his impressions of O'Neal. "I didn't know him that well, but I thought O'Neal actively tried to get people to like him."

"O'Neal understood people and was fairly intelligent. Whatever he did was conscious and wherever you'd find controversy you'd find O'Neal. His was not a foggy mind who turned informant in darkness. He came to the party an informant."

Bell, who is 29, says he joined the party in early 1969, six months after his discharge from the army. "I went home to Memphis for a couple of months and tried to reaccustom myself to a peacetime environment, but I was having difficulties. 1968 was the year Dr. King was murdered and it was also the year of the violent Democratic convention."

A friend of mine from Rockford visited me and persuaded me to come back with him, supposedly to go to school," he recalls. But he ended up working in a black nationalist group in Rockford.

"Fred came to Rockford in December 1968, but I had flown back to Memphis. When I got back, they told me they had met with Fred Hampton and some people from Chicago and everyone was enthusiastic."

Bell and the others joined the party largely because of Hampton. "In a room full of people, he stood out," said Bell. "And he seemed immensely knowledgeable. All 10 of us joined and began to organize the Rockford branch of the party."

The Rockford police didn't like the Panthers either, they soon discovered; arrests and harassments began almost immediately. "You'd pull out of a parking space and they'd ticket you for failing to yield the right of way. They'd park across the street from our office and copy license numbers of the people who went in. They'd harass us when we sold papers downtown."

The pattern was the same, Bell said. "It was like they had a blueprint to follow. People were visited by the police at work. One member, who was an ombudsman at the Washington Community School, was fired because of his party membership. There was also an agent in Rockford from the very beginning. Without authorization he released the names of all our members to the press. The agent—Charles Lincoln Powell—later admitted he was a major in airforce intelligence. "He was submitting regular reports on us to the FBI office in Chicago," Bell said.

According to Bell, the FBI closed down the Panthers free breakfast program in Rockford three times. "The first time was in April, 1969," Bell said. "We were using the social center at St. Elizabeth's Catholic church. But after a while, the nun who was the director of the center told us we would end the program in June. She told us the FBI had applied pressure at the church, that their funding had been threatened, and that she was being transferred because she had let us use the center."

The Panthers next turned to the Greater New Hope Baptist church. "The congregation accepted the program. Some of the elderly women of the church came down to prepare the breakfasts, to leave us free to tutor children."

Soon after, however, "Rev. White, the pastor, said he'd received phone calls and personal visits from FBI agents and the police chief! We could no longer use the church facility."

"After that we set up a program at the Fairground Housing project. We were feeding about 90 children a day in 1970. Eventually the public housing authorities said we had to leave, despite support from the residents. The FBI later publicly stated that they had called the housing director to express their concern."

Determined to keep the program going, the Panthers had a stove installed in the office and prepared the food there.

Brenda Harris joined the party at 18, after hearing Hampton speak at a rally at the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in the Spring of 1969. "He (Hampton) was the most gifted brother I ever met. He knew how to make people believe in themselves when before they didn't have any self-confidence."

"I felt this was what I wanted to do with my life," she said in explanation of why she joined the Panthers. "When I got to the party I had just started thinking about a future. But when you are a member of an organization like the Panthers, when you are a revolutionary, you have no future."

"You feel like you're constantly doomed. Every time you go to bed you think you may not wake up the next morning. You can't do ordinary things like get married or have a family. Can't strive for personal goals because you can't make plans—you might get killed. And it's just not something you get used to. People are just not meant to live like that."

"We did because we felt it was necessary and somebody had to do it. It was a stage in the struggle. Later I came to learn there were other ways of dealing with the system."

She believes the public image of the Panthers was inaccurate. "The guns got pushed to the forefront while our programs to educate the youth in the community got pushed into the background." She blames this on the media and on "Eldridge Cleaver who helped put forth that image in his speeches."

She was wounded twice by police gunfire in the raid. She stayed in the party until September 1970.

As with other survivors, she believes the raid had a major impact upon her life—it left her with a permanent lack of trust. "Since being in that kind of situation where anybody may be an informer, it makes you suspicious of people you meet. You hold

back. You can't be as open. You don't trust."

Verlina Brewer was just 17 when she joined the party in November of 1969, but despite her tender years she was already a "committed" revolutionary.

But overall she was happy in the party, because she believed in what she was doing. We were about the black liberation struggle. I was very happy I had an opportunity to be there with a group of people who felt the way I did.

"I was a woman at 17," she said. "I had been taken away from my parents at 14, because of child abuse. By 16, I had my own apartment and had graduated from high school and was planning on going to medical school to become a doctor."

"All my life I was involved in political things. My parents had brought me up that way and although they had been abusive, they were basically good people—they were always involved in heavy things (politically)."

Despite her by then well established sense of independence, she admits she did have some trouble adjusting.

"It's weird, that little month (between the time she joined and the raid) seems like three years. I was oblivious to a lot of the danger. I didn't ask about the raids, the details of the arrests. I honestly can say I didn't think about the danger. I was happy just to be there."

Verlina, whose career interests had also included dancing, was shot three times during the raid. "I was hit in the leg, the knee, and the buttock," she says, but her emotional wounds were deeper. "I didn't feel anything. I was kind of out of it. It took me two years or more to shed a tear about that night and not being able to feel caused great suffering."

When the charges against the survivors were dropped, she went back to Michigan which by then had a chapter of the party in Detroit. Shortly after her arrival there, while still in a leg cast extending to her hip, she was raped by a fellow party member. "The brother that raped me was instructed to do it by the head of the party in Detroit—who later was found to be a police informant."

"I couldn't tell anybody (what happened) because I loved the party too much—loved Fred (Hampton) too much and didn't want to tarnish the party's image."

The man who raped Verlina is serving a 20 to 40 year sentence on a conviction of being an accomplice in a murder in a drug-related incident. "I feel pity for him," she said. Verlina would not name her employer, but is trying to launch a career as a jazz pianist.

There were three other Panthers in the apartment with Hampton; Debra Johnson, Blair Anderson and Louis True-lock.

Johnson, 26, was eight months pregnant with Hampton's child at the time of the raid. She now works as a secretary at a university, and she and her six-year-old son, Fred Jr., live quietly on the city's southside.

Blair Anderson, a "gang-banger" before he joined the Panthers, quickly reverted back to his former lifestyle without the steadying influence of Hampton. When he recently testified as a witness in the Panther civil suit, he freely admitted that the period he was a member of the Black Panther party was the only time in his life that he was not in trouble. He is now in prison on a robbery charge.

None of the seven survivors are currently members of the Black Panther party. And while most say their political views have not substantially changed, none are currently members of any political organization. And they seem to have no desire to become active.

But perhaps Harold Bell's comments sum up the general feeling among them. "I'm not a different person, but I think I have a different and more realistic picture of this government and how far this government will go in order to punish those who raise questions or challenge this system. We just can't be idle about what happens to people who raise questions. And one day I will be part of another political organization because the only thing the raid did was make us conscious of how much we need to be organized. When they struck Hampton down, that's what they were really striking at."

Labor differing

Continued from page 5

The 165,000-member United Electrical Workers (UE) opposed labor's participation on the Pay Board. "The whole purpose of these things is to keep down wages and use some governmental facade to effectuate that. And they won't do anything on prices anyway," says Frank Rosen, Chicago district director of the UE.

The 500,000-member Amalgamated Meat Cutters, not ordinarily considered a left union, also urged that labor adopt a more "militant policy" in response to the freeze by refusing even to serve on the Pay Board. The union filed suit against the freeze, charging that it unconstitutionally delegated Congressional powers to the President.

"I was continuously making motions that the board be dissolved because it wasn't functioning properly," comments Harry Poole, current union president who served on the food industry control board. "Those controls were unsuccessful because they only worked one way—to keep down wages while prices went up."

►Three-way split.

The three-way split in labor—among those who would push full speed ahead on national planning, those who accept controls if they're "equitable," and those who oppose any such restrictions on bargaining—still holds in current discussions about voluntary controls. Many unions have adopted a wait-and-see stance, with the AFL-CIO more hesitant than ever to welcome controls.

According to Arnold Cantor, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO's Research Dept., the main thrust of the federation is to get the economy moving through a full employment policy. "If employment is up, production is up, and it looks like we really have to worry about inflation, and if Congress comes up with some de-

cent legislation that makes everything equitable and that could be enforced, then we would take a look at it. But we're certainly not going to advocate controls," he says.

A partial explanation for the AFL-CIO's attitude is that some in its hierarchy still cling to a concept of the labor movement and the state that holds that any governmental interference in collective bargaining will inevitably run counter to trade union interest.

This sentiment is best expressed by Thomas R. Donahue, Executive Assistant to the AFL-CIO president, who has spoken publicly against transplanting European experience to American labor relations.

Donahue emphasizes that German-style codetermination and like schemes offer little to labor in performing its main function of "job unionism"—bargaining collectively for those it represents and winning higher wages.

The opposition to controls by the left unions is strikingly similar to this philosophy—with a more militant component. As Frank Rosen put it: "The only time working men and the unions get a fair shake is when they stress their own independence of action."

►Unions with social democratic ties push planning. In the forefront of the move toward national planning and of an "income policy" will be those unions that identify with the European ideological tradition of social democracy or whose leaders are politically close to organizations like Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the Social Democrats U.S.A., both spin-offs of the old Socialist party.

Pointing to West Germany and Sweden, the UAW stresses democratic national planning to achieve a full employ-

ment economy. In their program presented to the Senate last February, the UAW argued for opening private economic data to the public, developing alternative economic plans, and letting the people choose.

Sol C. Chaikin, president of the Ladies Garment Workers, has called for a policy that would distribute income more equitably. He believes that the highly-paid building trades workers, for example, should renounce high wage rates for a government guarantee of year-round employment on low-cost housing.

►Dunlop and Kirkland.

Labor's tendencies toward social democratic policies may be strengthened in 1977 if Carter appoints John Dunlop as Secretary of Labor and if Lane Kirkland succeeds Meany as AFL-CIO president. Dunlop has long championed wage-price controls and Kirkland, now AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, is thought to identify closely with the social democratic tradition.

The impact of these social democratic policies on the influence and long-term outlook of the labor movement is still unclear.

On the one hand, national planning of economic decisions in a democratic context could restrict the options of capital over investment priorities. In exchange for accepting an incomes policy, labor could demand greater social controls over investment and a number of legislative reforms that would increase its strength.

On the other hand, an incomes policy could further shift the burden of inflation onto the back of the working class by cutting wage gains, exactly the strategy of capital in the current recession. In 1972, the AFL-CIO and the UAW cooperated with and then denounced a controls program clearly biased against working class living standards.

In 1977, labor will be engaged in a three-way race to chart its own future, with Jimmy Carter having a lot to say about who wins.

IN THESE TIMES

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Workers control in Britain

Continued from page 11

"New systems of wage payment, new methods of determining wage structures, the control of overtime and the fundamental questions of equal pay and of a minimum wage are all, at present, occasions for sharp contest relating to the control of industry.

"Beyond them lie the wider questions: the right to hire and fire, the control of [cutbacks], the enforcement of industrial safety, the speed and manning of work, the location of industry, investment decisions, industrial health and welfare, the decisions about product mix, rationalization, trade-union and workers' education and so on.

"Suffusing all these specific issues are these questions:

"Who controls the economy?

"Who determines the economic policies of governments, in whose interests

and to what ends?

"Workers have approached these widest questions through the industrial and political organizations they have created; hence a key aspect of the workers' control movement concerns democracy within the trade unions and the working-class political parties."

►No good reason.

There seems to be no good reason to confine these four principles to the field of capitalist industrial relations. If they are valid within factories, they have obvious implications outside them. This means that, however we evaluate institutions of parliamentary democracy, they can be adequate themselves for realization of the democratic potential of advanced societies. At best they can be employed to trigger a much wider democratic

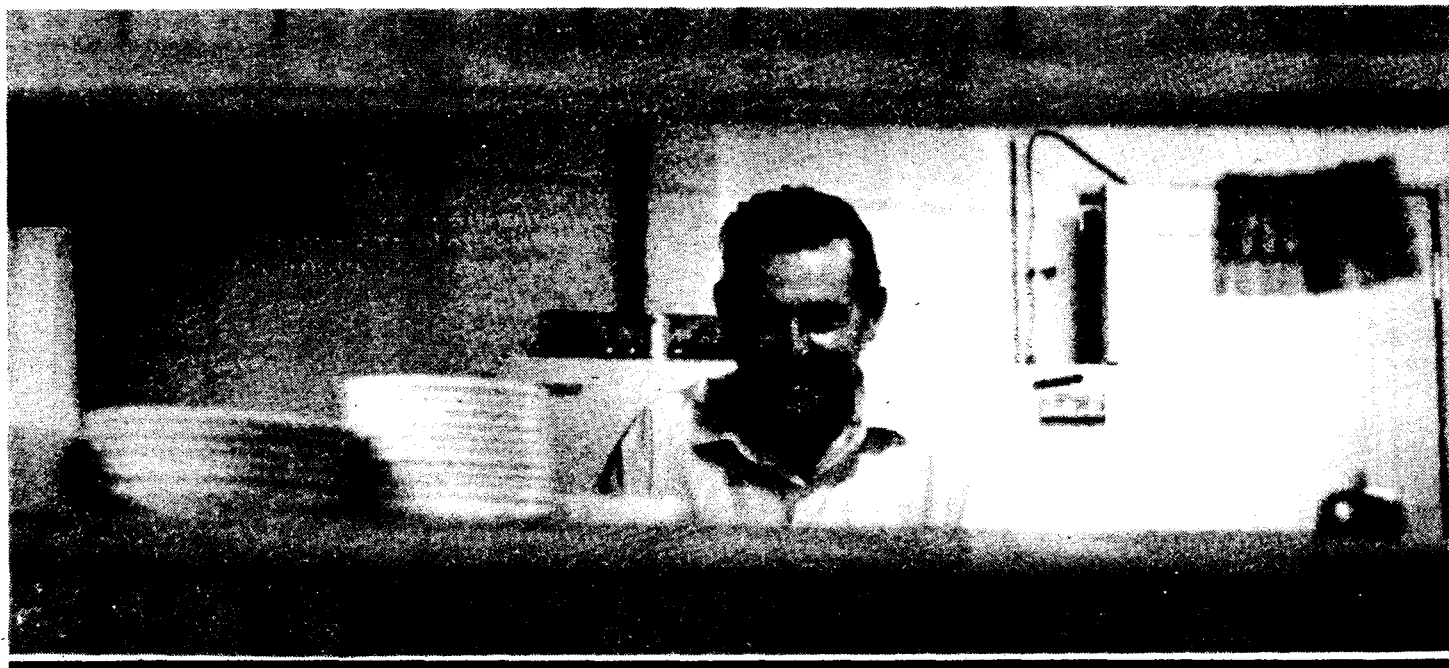
explosion, in which all the main power centers are brought under the rule of the same criteria of accountability, popular consent and participatory involvement.

This has been widely appreciated in Britain. And while the working-class movement shows considerable unanimity of purpose in favor of peaceful change, no one should mistake this for acceptance of the idea that the British economy can or should be restored at the sole expense of sacrifices by working people. Pragmatic, and perhaps overpatient, workers are willing to give their leaders the benefit of various doubts. Nonetheless, they have already been invited to expect a radical change in their status and prospects, and such a change cannot be indefinitely deferred.

Ken Coates is director of the Institute for Workers Control in Nottingham, England.

ALBUM

Photo by Teena Webb



LIFE IN THE U.S.

Union Maid sees hope for labor, women today

"Every time I go to a showing, I get a greater feeling of responsibility," says Stella Nowicki of her new role as one of the stars of the film *Union Maids*. "There were so many things I learned back then that young people don't know about. I reach back and tap areas I thought were gone."

She is one of three heroines of the CIO organizing drives in the 1930s who appear in *Union Maids*. Based on Alice and Staughton Lynd's book *Rank and File*, the film was released in March and is being shown by labor, women's and socialist groups around the country.

Nowicki came to Chicago as a girl from a Wisconsin farm and worked in the stockyards. The film depicts the bitter struggle to build the United Packinghouse Workers of America, "the most militant and progressive union in the country," she says.

She was one of three women and fourteen men on the first organizing committee and helped to negotiate the first contract the union won. Like many CIO organizers, she was also a member of the Communist party.

Organizing was risky business in those days—she once narrowly missed being shot by a company guard—but so was working, with daily injuries due to lack of safety equipment. One of the first work stoppages in her plant was over a finger someone lost in a sausage machine.

She was fired many times but returned to work under new names. "Once I even put henna on my hair," she says. "A forelady recognized me, but she was on our side; she let me stay."

►An integrated union.

"We had a black man for the first assistant organizing director," she recalls, "and at that time, it was unheard of. There weren't any integrated unions." The first contracts ended racial discrimination in the yards, she says, but not sexual discrimination.

She's proud that the union she



Stella Nowicki (above, right) with co-stars Sylvia Woods (left) and Kate Hyndman (hugging Nowicki) and filmmaker Julia Reichert. Below, as shop steward, 1941.

helped build, now part of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, was one of the first to speak out against the war in Vietnam.

Generally, though, she's disappointed in today's labor movement. "The leaders are mostly reactionary," she says.

But she does see hopeful signs in women organizing clerical workers, the rank and file movements in mining and steel, and

most of all in the drives to organize textile workers in the South and farmworkers in the West.

"The farmworkers have people working for \$25 a week. That's comparable to us, working for \$5 a week. They're the best example of the kind of dedication that's needed and they show it can really be done today," she says.

►Hope for young people.

She's hopeful that young people

can change the unions. "It's not easy to sit at a union meeting and not be able to say a word. But they shouldn't give up. They've got to get in there and fight."

In the movie, she says that it was hard for women like herself to be leaders in the labor movement because men expected women to do all the work around the home. "And the male leaders would proposition us right and left," she says. "They thought that was all we were there for."

"In a way, the women's movement goes farther than we did," she says, "because our struggles were still within the bounds of what was socially acceptable." The women of that era were still expected to marry, she points out. "Today, the women's movement says maybe you can be happy without being married. Maybe there can be new kinds of relationships."

►Less active in the '50s.

Nowicki's involvement in the labor movement subsided during the 1950s. She moved to the suburbs and raised four children. "Then, too, it was hard to be active in that time," she says. "You could feel the repression, the fear, in the air."

She recalls going with her mo-

ther-in-law ("an heroic old woman") to collect petition signatures to halt the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. "People actually spit on us,"

Today she's part of the struggle again, unable to keep up with the requests for her speaking with the film. She recalls the premiere of *Union Maids* in Dayton, Ohio. She'd almost forgotten the filming two years earlier. Everyone, filmmakers and cast alike, were tense. But at the end, there was wild applause, tears from many, and an all-night session of questions from younger members of the audience.

The filmmakers, she says, "took our own lives and made something that inspires even us."

She always has two messages for the audience. One is for the other veterans of the '30s labor struggles. "I know you're out there," she says, "and this is about all of you, too."

And to the young people, learning what their parents and grandparents went through, she says, "Things didn't come easy. Maybe if you join in, you too can change and make history."

—Judy MacLean

Union Maids can be ordered from New Day Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, N.J., 07417.

TV hustles sports fans: "There's gold in them thar games."

Once upon a time, a few short years ago, football pretty well owned the late fall. The pros scrambled for playoff berths and the major college teams hustled for leftover bowl bids, usually on the order of the Tupperware or Twinkie Bowls!

The grid addict could fixate on the tube all weekend watching globs of humanity bash each other in Eastern, Central and Western time zones scarcely having to come up for air. But the rest of the population had to wait it out.

Not so any more. A quick glance at the new gospel, *TV Guide*, shows that along with a glut of pigskin there is the continuing saga of professional wrestling, figure skating, skiing, hockey, angling, various sorts of basketball, plus some odds and ends of gymnastics, surfing, tennis and bowling. And this is a slack period for the "other sports."

Everyone has noticed that this country has become more and more sports crazed. It's no secret. Flocks of joggers, oblivious to the elements, are omnipresent. Tennis courts are clogged beyond belief. Spontaneously generated basketball and touch football games spring up on empty lots and playgrounds and even the more esoteric endeavors like rugby, soccer, cycling, table tennis and handball have hard core followers whose numbers have swelled in recent years.

Each segment of society, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, economic class or place of national origin, has its own sporting pastimes to be exploited at different levels by the networks. "There's gold in them thar games."

►A profitable sense of audience.

Almost from their formative years a half-century ago the networks have had a profitable sense of their potential audiences.

Participation and specialization is the rage today. It might have started with the Kennedy family's touch football games. It continues today with Jimmy Carter's softball outings.

The notion of doing, rather than observing, so characteristic of the youth culture of the '60s, obviously helped the process along. The women's movement, with its struggle for participation in formerly male domains, supplied another push.

What we have now is a sport for everyone and TV coverage in greater and lesser quantities for the pastimes that attract a big enough chunk of the relatively affluent to be exploited by advertisers.

Take tennis for instance, the fastest growing of the new wave. Compared on a numerical basis to the population of football and baseball devotees, there still aren't many tennis players.

So why so much coverage?

Simple. Those that play tennis are usually on the top side of the economic median. There are few tennis courts in inner cities and depressed rural areas, but lots in the suburbs. Tennis attracts the young, semi-affluent adherents that market researchers drool over—the 18 to 40 group that buys things.

Tennis has an additional bonus of attracting almost as many women as men, the only sport able to make such a boast.

►Something for everyone.

More and more, TV hustles after the relatively rich, though smallish, veins that they can't trap into watching major sports. They want to provide something for everyone they consider worthwhile.

What has happened to TV sports coverage is the same thing that happened to magazines over the past decade. They have become more and more specialized, digging around for a particular

audience starved for something about their interest. "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" is a success because there is a young, hip audience anxious to laugh at the foibles of this society. Likewise, the new sports are broadcast because there is an advertising market for each of them.

Sure, there's overlap. The same person can like football and bowling or gymnastics and volleyball, but the trend is toward isolation and specialization—even in the language of the announcers. Each type of sportscast increasingly employs its own technical jargon and specialists.

Maybe one day it will be impossible for the football fan even to understand the language of the tennis freak. We will have so much energy invested in our particular pastime that we'll be identified by our sporting affiliation.

Harmon Henkin is a widely published writer and novelist living in Montana.



A toothy grin from your local police's new toy.

Photo by Neil Benson/LNS

Bugging Baldwin Park

A major scandal involving the illegal wiretapping by police officers of public officials, the bugging of an executive session of a city council meeting, and the wiring of the phones of the mayor and a local newspaper publisher erupted in early November in the quiet, blue-collar community of Baldwin Park, one of dozens of suburban areas surrounding Los Angeles.

Operating under a million dollar plus grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), a grant ostensibly designed to deal with "organized criminal and related activities," the Baldwin Park police department used some of the money to hire an investigator, to purchase electronic surveillance equipment and to train police officers in "intelligence" activities.

When political opponents of Baldwin Park police chief Dale Adams were elected to the city council in 1974, and threatened to oust him and his allies in the city manager's office, Chief Adams used these resources to wiretap his political enemies. Buggings were conducted over a two-year period and were only discovered after Adams died and the tapes were found in his home.

LEAA grants—three all told—beginning in 1972, were designed to set up an intelligence system known as the East Valley Information System (EVIS). The Baldwin Park police were charged with coordinating and overseeing the program, which involved 18 other small communities in the area east of Los Angeles. EVIS was supposed to ferret out organized crime in the area, keep an eye on local motorcycle gangs, and take after "militants." "What was known as a quiet bedroom community," the Baldwin Park officials wrote in their grant application, "has become a base for groups having hostile attitudes of militancy as they have moved from the metropolitan to the suburban areas."

The police focussed on drug pushers, militants and organized crime figures in their applications, but also requested funds for "miscellaneous" electronic equipment and "vehicle surveillance and tracking devices" to be used "for the purpose of investigative surveillance of undercover operators and informants," i.e. investigating their own informants.

It wasn't long before the police transformed their million dollar assets into weapons to be used against established political public officials.

An investigation into activities of the Baldwin Park police began after Adams' death, and shortly before the *Los Angeles Times* broke the story on Nov. 9. Wiretapping by public or private officials is illegal under California law without a court order, though federal law enforcement officers are exempted. Some police officers may be suspended and even indicted for criminal charges, but EVIS, the system that made it all possible, is "still running as it did before," EVIS project coordinator Lt. A.L. Aldrich told *In These Times*.

—Bob Gottlieb and Marjorie Pearson

LEAA: Funding Big Brother at the local police level

By Marjorie Pearson and Bob Gottlieb

One of the less publicized federal agencies awaiting President-elect Carter's review after Jan. 20 will be the billion-dollar Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), which funds projects like the intelligence-related EVIS system of California (see box). Created by the Safe Streets Act of 1968, LEAA has led a charmed existence, despite recurring congressional debates over the agency's funding.

Most recently, congressional liberals, led by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) criticized LEAA's "cost effectiveness" for spending more than \$4.5 billion over its six years of existence, while the crime rate rose 18 percent. Nonetheless, Sept. 30, 1976, Congress authorized LEAA funding of more than \$2.5 billion over a three-year period. They insisted, however, that the agency improve its evaluation and monitoring procedures, and that Congress have improved oversight over its activities.

The \$4.5 billion spent by LEAA was in grants aimed at strengthening local criminal justice/law enforcement agencies. According to the Center for National Security Studies, since LEAA's creation in 1969 local police forces have increased personnel 21 percent from 792,000 to more than one million, a far greater increase than other comparable public sectors.

LEAA funds are small compared to overall police agency budgets, but the impact on local agencies and institutions has been enormous. New hardware systems, technological "toys" as one law enforcement official called them, have become available to even the smallest police forces.

The ready availability of federal funds has also increased the power of local law enforcement bodies in numerous cities and counties across the country.

Systems like southern California's EVIS are increasingly common. In the Los Angeles area, where more than \$58 million in LEAA funds has been disseminated since 1969, 60 percent has gone to police projects, and over 40 percent (\$23.5 million) to information/communications projects. There have been 31 different information/communication projects in the Los Angeles region alone. More than a million and a half dollars has gone into direct intelligence operations—surveillance and processing of information on individual citizens.

Besides EVIS, intelligence-related Los Angeles LEAA grants include: the South Bay Information and Narcotics Unit, which, like Baldwin Park's EVIS, makes sophisticated surveillance equipment available to eight suburban police departments; the Long Beach police department's "Analysis, Redevelopment, and Upgrading of Intelligence Section" that includes money for "confidential expenditures" to develop information sources; and the Los Angeles Police Department's "Non-Visual Surveillance Program," where 95 percent of the first year grant was used for equipment like "infra-red viewing optical units," a "portable intelligence monitoring kit," and a "surveillance network radio repeater."

Other LEAA funded projects not specifically designed for intelligence could

and organizations at a charge of \$1 per record check (free for government bodies). More than 500 checks were purchased by the Retail Credit Company, the nation's biggest credit checking firm.

One of the more substantial national programs funded by LEAA is the "Interstate Organized Crime Index," a project operated by a national intelligence network known as the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit (LEIU). LEIU is not part of the federal bureaucracy, but an independent coalition of local intelligence operators.

The Crime Index originated as an attempt to create a national index for organized crime figures, but came under attack in 1975 when the Houston police department attacked the system, complaining that the project was gathering informa-

\$1,330,500 for purchase of electronic surveillance equipment went to states either prohibiting wiretapping or having no legislation authorizing its use.

tion on ordinary citizens. LEAA, however, has ignored the criticisms and continues to fund the LEIU project. LEIU is pursuing one of LEAA's primary objectives—to coordinate intelligence operations on a national basis.

LEIU is pursuing one of LEAA's primary objectives—to coordinate intelligence operations on a national basis. This past summer, the Center for National Security Studies published a major attack on LEAA in a report entitled "Law and Disorder IV." Though the report called for the abolition of the entire program, the press emphasized criticisms that focussed on bureaucratic mismanagement and waste inherent in the system, criticisms that became the brunt of the congressional debate over LEAA.

Other critics focus on the "big brother" aspect of the program, warning that LEAA-funded projects foreshadow a police state with a "1984" technological apparatus to wield law and order. Despite the massive infusions of LEAA money, a national police force does not appear significantly closer, though such potential exists. LEAA's emergence has signified the expansion and coordination of the power of local agencies. A powerful, coordinated, but decentralized net-

work of local police forces, largely autonomous from the communities they serve and other agencies of government, could pose as great, if not greater, danger as a national police force.

Marjorie Pearson, former researcher with the Urban Policy Research Institute, is currently completing a dissertation on the LEAA program in Los Angeles. Bob Gottlieb has recently completed a book (with Irene Wolt) on the *Los Angeles Times* and the development of Southern California, to be published this spring by Putnam.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Photo by Paramount

Marathon Man runs—but...

MARATHON MAN

Starring Dustin Hoffman, Sir Lawrence Olivier, and Marthe Keller
Directed by John Schlesinger, from a novel by William Goldman.

You can depend on at least a baker's dozen of bloody corpses—if you include casual passersby, the count is higher—in *Marathon Man*, which is packing them in at first-run houses.

You can also watch some ingenious, but very nasty torture and brutal hand-to-hand fighting, and see a man break another man's back. The knee is properly placed, leverage exerted on the chin and you can hear the spinal column snap. It may be true that people who arrive at death violently die with their eyes open and popping. But you can be eyeball-to-eyeball with a corpse just once too often.

These filmmakers are a crafty lot. Before you are turned off (or on) by so much mayhem, you have been sucked into an intriguing plot by clever broken action sequences, interesting character sketches, and such widely dispersed snacks of story that your curiosity forms around the question of how they are going to get it all together into one film—the one you paid to see.

Marathon Man is the story of an innocent Columbia graduate student, PhD candidate Dustin Hoffman (he played his first graduate role 13 years ago and hasn't aged a bit); an ex-Nazi torturer from Buchenwald (Sir Lawrence Olivier), now domiciled in a steaming South American jungle; and an assortment of double agents both mysterious and confusing.

When the picture is over you are still not sure whether the beautiful Swiss girl "student" (Marthe Keller) is a CIA agent, an agent for the Nazis or just a courier as she says. And if the latter, for whom?

Babe Levy (Hoffman) gets involved in all this through his brother who is a double agent—isn't everybody? At the outset of the story Babe is in training for marathon running, and, incidentally, studying for a doctorate in history. In the end he is literally running for his life, his training standing him in good stead. My bet is he'll never get his PhD.

The acting is all thoroughly convincing. Olivier is utterly repulsive as Schell, the Weisse Engel, who bought diamonds with the gold he dug out of the mouths of concentration camp victims. (He seems to have been the camp dentist.) His walk is that of an

Record squeeze play

The price of everything is going up—except records.

In New York and Chicago, and other large American cities, a price war is reducing the tab on the newest, hottest-selling albums to something close to the retailer's cost.

It seems to be the old American squeeze play: slashing prices to cut the throats of small competitors, the better to eat the consumer when only the giant outfits are left. At the moment some of these giants are reporting half-million dollar losses for 1976—sums that only they can afford to lose for long.

Record departments in big stores are closing down. So are many small neighborhood shops. Those who can afford to hang in a while longer are making it on tapes and sheet music, areas in which there is (at present) no war.



Record buyers will pay the piper—as usual—when peace is declared over the bankrupt bodies of the little guys. Unless—and this is what is worrying the industry, according to the trade publication *The Music Retailer*—unless people get used to paying \$3.99 for a \$6.98 list album, and start wondering how come it ever got listed at \$6.98 anyway. ■

aging military man. Every gesture is just right. He never loses the human being, full of all sorts of shifting emotions, in the character he is drawing, no matter how beastly he is.

Roy Scheider, as Doc Levy, Babe's older brother, is a really charming actor. He was the only likeable one in the whole picture, who only broke the man's neck in self-defense. At least he didn't go around slitting throats and bellies as some of the others did.

The look of the film is beautiful. Congratulations to Conrad Hall, the cameraman. New York was never lovelier, and Paris—

aah!—the Paris Opera, the great Beaux Arts building—everything is so glamorous!

The pace of *Marathon Man* is exhausting. The suspense never lets up. Schlesinger can really make a movie move. But for what?

If you watch enough movies like this you won't be surprised when you walk down Main Street and the man next to you topples over with his throat cut—a fountain of good red blood soaking into the geraniums of the corner planter.

You shouldn't be looking at him anyway.

—Mavis Lyons

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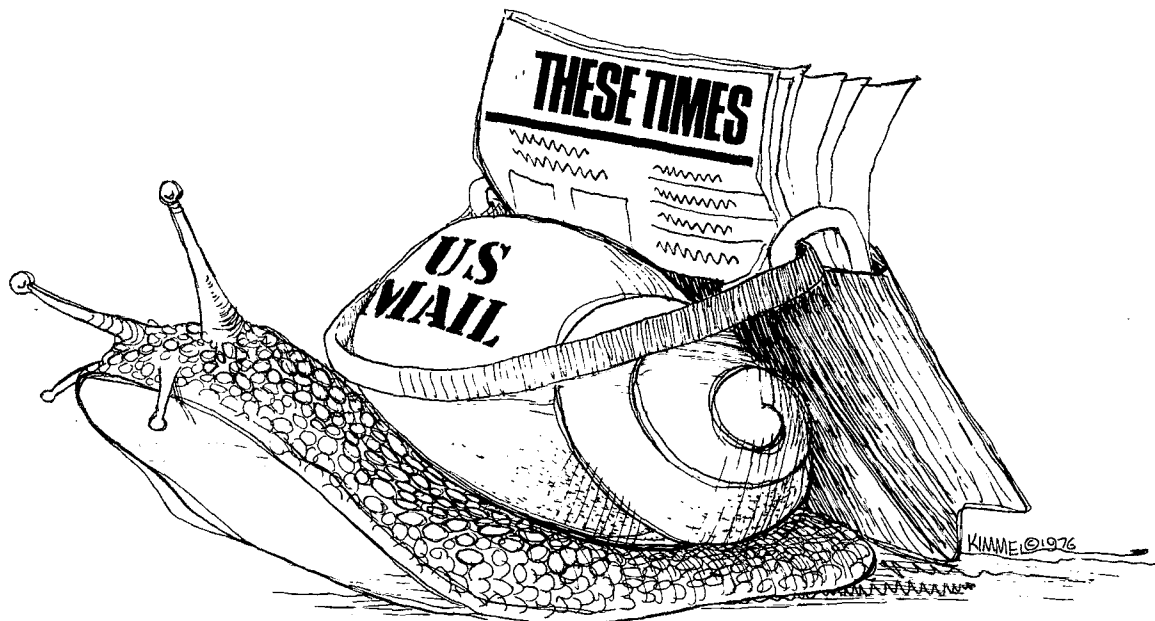
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Two scenes from Truffaut's *Small Change*, right and above.

Truffaut's Christmas present: children at their most charming

SMALL CHANGE

Directed and written by Francois Truffaut
(and Suzanne Schiffman)
Released by New World Pictures

Small Change is a small film about small boys (and girls) in a small French town. Small, but exquisite, on all counts.

It is not in the class of *Four Hundred Blows*, the 1959 film about a small boy that made Truffaut's international reputation. That one probed deep under the surface of a child's anguish.

This one bobs along as merrily

in greater detail than the rest, though not necessarily in greater depth. One of these is Patrick, a 12-year-old who lives with a totally paralyzed father, copes manfully with the practical problems of the menage, but is not quite able to cope with the great leap forward into sexual maturity. The other is Julien, a strange, poker-faced delinquent whose home life is so mysterious that it becomes the principal suspense line of the film.

The denouement of Julien's story is sudden and shocking and

as any new day.

There are other moments when matters descend to the damp edges of sentimentality. But Truffaut manages always to avoid falling into the pool.

His actors restrain him when he does not restrain himself. These are very real children, who have been made to feel comfortable in their roles, their dialog and their pantomime. From the irresistible 2-year-old Gregory (who provides the film's most chilling and most contrived moment), to the dreadful deLu-



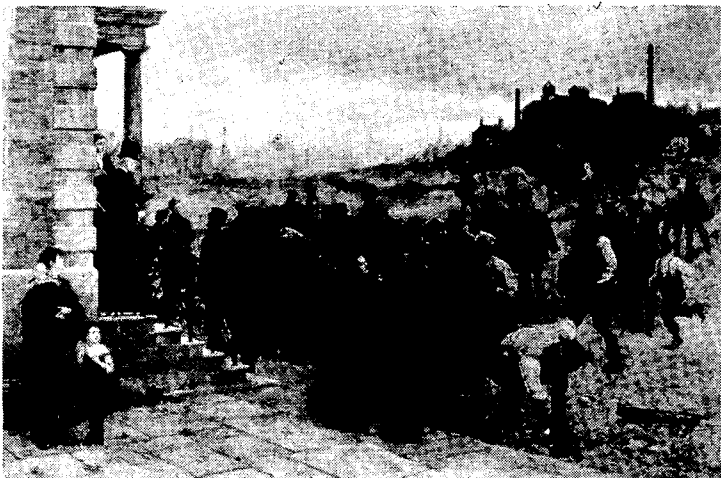
Labor's Day

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as a paper boat on the surface ripples of childhood experiences — at least for three-quarters of the film's footage.

There is no real plot. Instead, the viewer is artfully lured into an increasing interest in the lives of 10 children. These lives interweave with each other and with the lives of their parents, teachers and townspeople of Thiers — a small city in southern France.

But the adults are treated only as they impinge directly and definitely on the children — on their adventures, their misadventures and their "learning moments."

Two of the boys are handled

leads to the one entirely serious sequence of the film; one which — for this reviewer — is totally convincing despite its "unfilmic" reliance on dialog.

Truffaut is one of the great filmmakers of our time and he has a particular affinity for story material involving children. He can't touch even the most cliché of subject matter without stirring real emotions and bringing up new insights about human relationships.

One might think, for instance, that the last change had long since been wrung on the story of the first kiss, but the one that closes *Small Change* is as fresh

cas, to the almost-too-good-to-be-true Patrick they are all charmers. Even the girls, who are relatively undeveloped as characters, come through as real and enchanting.

That is Truffaut's gift to his audience, which will be heavy in most metropolitan centers through the rest of the winter: children at their most charming, seen from just the right esthetic distance — close enough so that all their individuality is in focus, far enough away so that the nitty-gritty of living with them is obscured. No wonder there are lines at the box office.

—Janet Stevenson

Do-it-yourself "Messiah"

This year Chicago's Orchestra Hall will host an unusual Christmas celebration.

Chicago. Just about the time Christmas decorations go up on the Main Streets of America — that is to say, well before Thanksgiving — church and college choirs, and nondenominational choruses begin tuning up for their annual performance of Handel's oratorio, "The Messiah."

You can hear it for free or pay for the pleasure. In a concert hall, a chapel, a church, on the radio, or on your television screen. You can hear it done professionally or unprofessionally. What you can hardly do is make it through the joyous season without hearing it somewhere, somehow.

In past years Chicago music-lovers have been able to choose from half a dozen or more Messiahs of different calibers of excellence. This year they are offered "something entirely different" — a Do-It-Yourself Messiah, under the most impressive of auspices.

On Dec. 15, at 8 p.m., Orchestra Hall will be filling up, not with the usual crowd of musicians and symphony-goers, but with people who have brought their scores to do some music-making on their own.

Margaret Hillis, director of the world-famous Chicago Symphony Chorus, will conduct the entire audience — up to 2,000 of them — in an unrehearsed, one-time-only sing-through of the work.

On stage there will be an orchestra — not the great Chicago

Symphony, but volunteers from several of the small symphonies in Chicago's hinterland. There will also be soloists — all professional, past or present members of the Symphony Chorus.

Anyone who applies can get a ticket, absolutely free. Singers only, of course, no one is invited to come to listen.

This community participation concert is an annual event at London's Albert Hall. It remains to be seen whether Chicago, which is rapidly becoming one of the world's fine music capitals, can fill a house a large as that — especially if Chicago's winter weather turns up a do-it-yourself blizzard.

Lesbian literary history—at last

SEX VARIANT WOMEN IN LITERATURE

By Jeannette Foster
Diana Press, Baltimore, 1976

In 1956 this massive, scholarly work was *almost* published. But its university press sponsor died unexpectedly and his successor refused to undertake the unorthodox project.

Jeannette Foster, a University of Chicago PhD who had researched her material for more than two decades, put up the money herself for a small private printing that soon went out of print and the few hardback copies disappeared in the back shelves of public or personal libraries.

Now, 20 years later, when the women's and gay liberation movements have provided a more congenial atmosphere for such a work, as well as a women's press to do it, *Sex Variant Women in Literature* has been published for real.

As a scholarly work, Foster's book will never be a best seller, but it is an important resource for the growing number of women interested in literary history as a way to uncover the veiled past.

Foster's subject is the lesbian in literature. In 1956 she chose the term "sex variant" because "it is not as yet rigidly defined nor charged with controversial overtones."

But this is no lesbian diatribe. It is a carefully researched work that has a tone of relentless objectivity, which results from decades of perseverance by a solitary woman working with a

complete lack of any cultural approval.

The book historically traces every reference to the lesbian in Western literature. Foster begins with Ruth, whose passionate entreaties to Naomi in the Bible are interpreted with a twist that may raise some eyebrows, and Sappho, whose passions three centuries later are better known.

From there she uncovers references in the entire span of literature written by men, from the Roman classics through the dark ages, the Renaissance, and into the 18th century.

Foster roots her scholarship firmly in history. She discusses the general condition of women and ties to it the treatment of lesbian literary figures. While male homosexuality in literature has had its ups as well as its downs, lesbianism has been defined by male writers in a male-dominated culture, and completely subjected to male distaste.

Even more fascinating is her discussion of the history of lesbian novels written by women (the first was by feminist Mary Wollstonecraft in 1788). Foster deals at length with the increase of such books in the 19th century and their peak in the early 20th century with the works of Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, Colette and others.

The most interesting section of the book is entitled "Conjectural Retrospect." Here Foster departs from her close reading of original sources and dips into biographical material, speculating that many women writers—greater and lesser—have been lesbians.

This idea has been battled around by the current gay women's movement out of a "political" urge to make connection with a dim past by identifying with some of its more visible figures. But Foster's style and method are so thorough and dignified that she proves what some claim to intuit: that the cultural contradiction between femininity and achievement has produced a great many women achievers who are lesbians.

Her purpose, as a lesbian writing in an anti-lesbian era, was to make sense of lives that were often mystified and misunderstood by the men who edited, published, criticized and even married them. She includes in her gallery of lesbians Emily Bronte, Margaret Fuller and Emily Dickinson.

Some of her speculation may be wrong; some has been confirmed since 1956; much of it will no doubt be disputed. But all of it illuminates the relationship between private identity and social role that is at the center of feminist thinking.

Today Jeannette Foster is in her eighties and resides in a nursing home in Arkansas. No longer actively able to contribute to the growing body of feminist and lesbian literature, she still provides the women's movement with a powerful role model in her own story of perseverance, as well as with a solid intellectual foundation in her important book—whose time has finally come.

—Torie Osborn

Toward Eurocapitalism

RIO: RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Jan Tinbergen, Coordinator
E.P. Dutton, New York, 1976, 325 pp.
\$10 (c), \$4.95 (p)

This is the third report to the Club of Rome, following *Limits of Growth* (1972) and *Mankind at the Turning Point* (1974).

The club is a high-powered think-tank on world problems, started by a group of Italian industrialists in 1968. It is a highly sophisticated group, the most thoughtful representatives of European capitalism.

Their studies and reports are made by *ad hoc* teams of academicians and business people. The second report, for example, was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and supervised by Prof. Mesarovic, director of the Systems Research Center at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and Prof. Pestel of Hanover University, Germany, who is also vice president of the German equivalent of the U.S. National Science Foundation.

The present report, *RIO*, was financed by the Dutch government and supervised by Jan Tinbergen, a Nobel laureate in economics and professor emeritus at Erasmus University in Rotterdam.

These reports are based on computerized models of the world economic structure. The first was rather crude and was severely criticized, particularly on its conclusions as to the future of mankind, which seemed unduly pessimistic.

The second and third reports are more firmly based both in technique and in politics. The experts have been drawn not only from the First (capitalist) World, but from the Third World as well, and, in the third report, individuals from the Second (socialist) World have been drawn into the work.

The reports are increasingly objective in terms of politics. The makers have researched and clarified areas critical to mankind's survival, have presented possible solutions and

suggested strategies—both political and economic—for achieving those solutions. They present hard-headed studies on specific subjects: energy scarcity, environmental degradation, "the brain drain" in the Third World and the like. It is impossible to summarize them in a brief review, but the trend of the studies is extremely significant.

The second study subsumed specific problems to the overall problem of the growing gap between rich and poor nations—a gap that cuts across political systems and ended by proposing the kind of changes necessary for man's survival. One of those changes was the need for a practical international framework based on national interests but in no way envisaging a world government.

The third report focuses on such a framework, describing it and suggesting strategies for reshaping the international order.

Recalling that the club is a capitalist think tank, it is of more than passing interest that the third report states:

"Society as a whole must accept the responsibility for guaranteeing a minimum level of welfare for all its citizens and aim at equality in human relations. The creation of an *equitable social order*—internationally and nationally—can thus be viewed as a precondition for the real pursuit of the fundamental aim [a peaceful and just world]."

"Many in the RIO group believe that this equitable social order could be best described as *humanistic socialism*..." (P. 63)

This is quite a perspective. It is perhaps symbolic that the country whose communists are pioneering new roads to socialism has thrown up a group of capitalists who are pioneering new roads to preserve conservative values. It is barely possible that Eurocommunism may be matched by a Eurocapitalism.

Carl Marzani, journalist, author and publisher, says of himself, "I have only two claims to fame: that I was the first political prisoner of the cold war and that I wrote the first revisionist history of it."

Missing most of Ma Bell's muck

THE PHONE BOOK

By J. Edward Hyde
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1976

AT&T, the Bell Telephone system, is the bureaucratic monster of the American corporate machine.

With \$75 billion in assets it is four times the size of General Motors, its nearest competition in bigness. Last year Ma Bell raked in \$3.15 billion in after-tax profits—or more than IT&T, U.S. Steel, General Electric, Ford, Chrysler, Xerox, Boeing, General Mills, Allied Chemical, RCA, Firestone and Coca Cola combined.

To do battle with AT&T, a muckraking author should at least have the proper equipment. A tank-mounted laser might do the trick. But J. Edward Hyde, the author of *The Phone Book*, has gone to the trenches armed only with a flashlight.

For a few scattered pages he manages to hold a blowtorch to some specific shenanigans. In a short section of deposits, for instance, Hyde shows that phone users in redlined "undesirable neighborhoods" have a "7-in-10 chance that the company will force them to pay a deposit, while suburban users only have a 3-in-10 chance." College students, single women, servicemen and divorced people get no sympathy from Ma Bell on their deposits or anything else.

The Phone Book is good on the nitty gritty: deposits, billing, WATS line bilks, the long-cord racket and color phone over-

charges. It provides the juiciest account of the T.O. Gravitt scandal that I've seen.

Gravitt was Texas operations chief for Southwestern Bell. When he tried to clamp down on the bribery, illegal rate-fixing and political slush-funding common for decades in the wide-open, unregulated Texas system, the company put 150 investigators on Gravitt's case, trying to establish that he had illicit sex with subordinates in company planes high over the sagebrush.

Bell's smear campaign drove Gravitt to suicide in 1974, but backfired when his last will was made public. The suicide note documented Bell's illegal wire-tapping, as well as downhome corruption. It acutely embarrassed former Texas Bell executives who had been promoted to New York on the basis of their Texas record.

Unfortunately, Hyde's book does not have the comprehensiveness its nifty title suggests.

Hyde does not bother to attack the new campaign by Bell to break off essential services like Information (directory assistance) in order to charge for them separately. He does nothing to disturb the rate-base concept—that profits are set as a percentage of investment, with Bell itself defining terms. Yet the rate base is the mossy myth that protects Bell's profits.

In love with Bell's glittering technology, Hyde never cuts through the screen of public utility "regulation" that AT&T embraces to avoid anti-trust charges

and competition from independents.

At the end Hyde throws up his hands. It would be nuts, he says, to turn the phone company over to the government that gave us "the Russian wheat deal, Amtrack and the Postal Service." He is too cynical (or timid) to explore the cheap and efficient, municipalized phone services that have worked for years in Canada, let alone the worker-consumer experiments of the socialist countries.

The Phone Book is a lightweight lampoon by a middle-level insider. Still, the ultimate book on AT&T is hard to find. *Telephone*, an ambitious attempt made last year by *New Yorker* contributor John Brooks, covered Bell's technology and history nicely, but was a political puff piece. (Bell had struck a deal with *Telephone's* publisher to buy more than 5,000 hardcover copies and 110,000 special paperback editions—an automatic windfall of \$227,850 for the publisher and Brooks.)

Except for the hoary 1939 classic *AT&T: The Story of Industrial Conquest* by N.R. Danielian, the only decent book about the Bell System is *Monopoly* by Joseph Goulden. *Monopoly* is a comprehensive and venomous attack on Ma Bell. If you hate the phone company, or are so naive, God forbid, that you still like it, *Monopoly* is the phone book for you.

—Steve Chapple

ALBUM

Photo by Pam Chamberlain

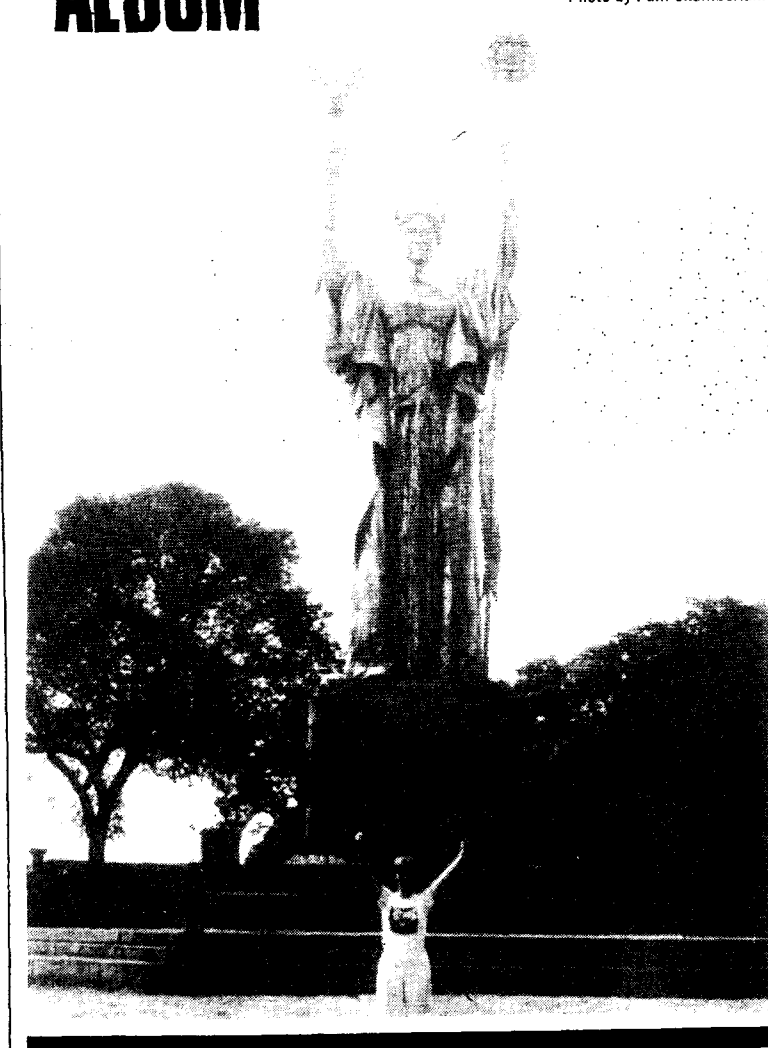




Photo by Edward Stevenson

How to roll your own

BAKE BREAD

By Hannah Solomon
J.B. Lippincott, Philadelphia/N.Y., 1976
(\$6.95)

"How can a nation be great if its bread tastes like Kleenex?"

—Julia Child

In search of national greatness or simply some non-poisonous nutrition, many Americans are returning to the ancient art of bread-baking, only to find that it is not as easy as it ought to be.

There are an impressive number of works available on how to (and why to) bake your own. Some of the best are published by the children's departments of trade publishers who do not usually dabble in domesticity.

One that does very well from a number of view-points is *Bake Bread*, recently published by Lippincott, and presumably addressed to pre-teenagers. It is not exclusively for children. The chapter on the chemistry of bread

is written in deceptively short and familiar words, but it is difficult.

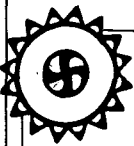
If you read it and understand it, you will know why you must do certain things to make and bake bread successfully. If you don't read it or don't understand it, you can get just as good results by following the step-by-step instructions, checking each move with the photographs, which are tactfully placed at the points where you need them most.

It is all perfectly clear—if you can manage to keep the book open while you are working, without using your doughy fingers to do it. (The cover, incidentally, is hard and washable for efficient kitchen use.)

There are chapters on such variants as corn bread, cheese bread, oatmeal bread, egg bread, braided loaves, and bread sticks. But the best thing about *Bake Bread* is that it is "basic."

—Amanda Bright

Cherokee hidden history— 'Just beyond our view'



TO SPOIL THE SUN

By Joyce Rockwood
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1976
(\$6.95)

"In 1521, two Spanish ships landed on the Carolina coast. The Indians received the Spaniards as guests. The Spaniards in return enticed a large number of their hosts onto their ship and sailed away with them to Hispaniola where the Indians were to be sold as slaves...."

"In 1526 (Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon landed on the Carolina coast with 500 colonists, 89 horses, a number of black slaves and three Dominican friars.... The colony lasted barely half a year. Two thirds of the colonists died of disease and starvation.... In midwinter, after bloody strife between factions in the colony, the Spaniards abandoned their effort...."

"Twelve years later, Hernando de Soto landed on the coast of Florida... In time, his army reached the country just upriver from the aborted Ayllon colony. There they saw abandoned Indian towns, empty and overgrown with weeds. Through interpreters they asked the Indians

the reason for it. The Indians explained that there had recently been a plague in the land. Before the plague...the country was very populous."

This is the chronology of the events that form the plot of *To Spoil the Sun* as they might appear in one of our histories of the conquest and early settlement of North America. As author Joyce Rockwood notes, "the Indians, so momentarily affected by these 'minor' events, are never glimpsed by us at all."

Her book, she says in the Afterword, "is about a people who lived and died on the other side of history, just beyond our view." That people is the Cherokee, who lived 100 or so miles inland from the coast, directly in the path of the Spanish invaders.

Joyce Rockwood tells the story of the people of Mulberry Town in the first quarter of the 16th century through the character of Rain Dove, a girl who grows to womanhood during a critical period in the life of her tribe. Rockwood is a fine scholar as well as a fine writer, and she has soaked herself in the factual material—archaeological as well as anthropological; purified herself like a Cherokee shaman undertaking an important magic. The magic in this case is the re-incarnating of a lost way of life, and it is entirely successful.

The story is an exciting one. Young readers will probably zip through it to quench the suspense-thirst created by Rain Dove's ordeals. Older readers will have to take time to absorb all the implications of this picture of a culture radically different from our own.

There is much to ponder in these differences: differences in the status of young and old, of male and female; different forms and different feelings about marriage and divorce; different ways of loving, of governing, of meting out justice between individuals, clans, tribes, and peoples. Some are more, some less effective than those with which we are familiar.

It is enormously valuable to live for a time in someone else's skin, to experience another value system and know that it worked and worked well over a long, fruitful period of human history. Being culture-bound in the last quarter of the 20th century is a dangerous, possibly a fatal handicap.

To Spoil the Sun is as enjoyable as it is valuable. It is simply and lucidly written, compact and complete in less than 200 pages, one of those rare books that is good to read aloud, even in a group that contains listeners of different generations.

—Janet Stevenson

Merry Christmas



"Here is a news flash—the turkey has been hijacked by the dog, one little terrorist has shot up your Christmas drinks supply, and some carol singers are here collecting for the IRA."



"...I gather it's some difference of opinion over what key they'll sing 'Peace on Earth' in..."

—Norris - Vancouver Sun, Canada

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Genetic I.Q. data faked

Glaring inconsistencies in Cyril Burt's work.

By Herb Schreier

Until his death at the age of 88 in 1971, Sir Cyril Burt was considered by many to be one of the world's leading psychologists. From research done between 1913 and 1932, when he was a consultant to the London school system, Burt concluded that intelligence is largely innate. His work laid the foundation for the British system of examinations (still in effect in parts of England) given to all children at age 11, which determined irrevocably their assignment to one of three educational levels or tracks, as we have come to know them. It now appears that his work was a fraud which was used to promote a society where the children of the working class were destined to remain among the working class.

Burt's influence and reputation were international. He was knighted for his efforts and became Sir Cyril, and in 1971 he received the Thorndike award of the American Psychological Assn. One of his students, H.J. Eysenck, is responsible for theories concerning the genetic basis for neuroticism. An American student of Eysenck's, Arthur Jensen, wrote in the *Harvard Education Review*, in 1969, that the large "genetic component of intelligence" may be the reason why blacks score lower on IQ tests. Jensen then suggested that compensatory education for minorities may be doomed to failure. Richard J. Herrnstein, a Harvard psychologist, suggested that social class may be due, in part, to inherited intelligence. Both relied heavily on Burt's data for their arguments.

On Oct. 24, 1976, an article appeared in the Sunday *London Times* with the headline "Crucial data was faked by eminent psychologist." The article reported that the co-authors of Burt's later papers may never have existed. More important, some glaring inconsistencies, and impossible statistics were noted. These had already been discussed in a series of lectures at American universities by Prof. Leon Kamin of Princeton in 1972-73, which were published in a book called *The Science and Politics of I.Q.* (1974).

Even Burt's most ardent supporters, Eysenck and Jensen, have admitted that his data is unusable.

The issue raises important questions. The likelihood that data was "cooked" is now clear. But since inconsistencies in the data were, we are now told, glaring, their wide acceptance should be examined.

Let us look at one example. Burt's work relies on the finding that identical twins (who therefore have identical genes) when separated for adoption and reared apart in early life, show a very high correlation in their scores on intelligence tests. Because they were reared in different environments, the argument goes, the high correlation suggests that the similarity is due to their genetic makeup, and that genes play an important role in determining intelligence. Critics suggested that twins are often placed in foster homes with similar environments and social standing.

Further, that the environments of foster homes resemble those of their natural parents so that similarities on scores between parents and children may also be due mainly to environmental factors. Sir Cyril answered this argument in a 1966 paper with data that "showed" that there was *no* correlation between the occupational categories of foster and natural parents. This data had not appeared in two previous papers on these twin pairs (1955, 1958) and aroused the suspicions of at least one psychologist who wrote Burt for more information. Asked recently why nobody had disputed these findings, she said, "There were certainly grave doubts although nobody dared put them into print because Burt was enormously powerful."

The picture is an impressive if improbable one. A man of 82 years, semi-retired, suffering from a debilitating disease that required that he list coauthors (Howard and Conway), who may not have existed, claims to have gathered data, including IQ scores, and cowers the scientific community.

It is true that Burt wielded great power as an editor of the *British Journal of Sta-*

Typical slum monkey

On Nov. 28, Boyce Rensberger reported in the *New York Times* that Cyril Burt's I.Q. data, purporting to prove that differences in intelligence were hereditary, were now widely viewed as fraudulent. Burt's main critic in this country, Leon Kamin, a Princeton University psychologist, says that the loss of Burt's data seriously undermines the claims of those in the U.S. who, like Arthur Jensen, also assert that intelligence is a function of genetics.

"The hereditary people relied very heavily on Burt," Kamin says, "because his was the only study of separated twins that claimed to have evidence that the twins went into [homes of] different socioeconomic levels. And Burt was the only man who claimed to have used the same I.Q. tests on all of his population and to have drawn all of his population from the same place."

Kamin says he may be the only person who has read all of Burt's published work.

"Even back in 1912, he did a paper purporting to have tested over a thousand children," Kamin says, "and there are things in it that clearly suggest fakery."

Burt asserted, Kamin says, that he had found not only that slum children were less intelligent, but also that Jews and the Irish were less intelligent than the English, and that men were smarter than women.

Burt's prejudice against all classes but his own was also evident in his choice of language for his formal reports, Kamin says.

In a report on a child for whom Burt was responsible as a school psychologist, for example, the child is described as "a typical slum monkey with the muzzle of a paleface chimpanzee."

tistical Psychology. And many believe that, using pseudonyms, he wrote devastating reviews of works that took issue with his own conclusions. It is also true that at times individuals in science exert extraordinary influence over what is considered "the truth." And there are other striking examples of fraud in the history of science.

Burt's defenders do not see it this way. Jensen suggested that the errors are too haphazard to have been planned. Eysenck felt that Burt used shortcuts, which are not fraudulent since they were not intended to deceive. But whether the data resulted from the carelessness of an aging, jealous researcher or from out and out fraud is not important. The supposed built-in checks and balances of science failed. Free competition in the marketplace of ideas begins to look more and more like the monopoly control of corporate capitalism. To see this long affair simply as an aberration, when science is increasingly called upon to assist in decisions of social policy, is a dangerous oversimplification and misses an essential point.

Eysenck, by the 1950s, was a leading figure in British psychiatry, Herrnstein was a professor at Harvard and Jensen at Berkeley. Were they afraid of Burt? Could they have missed glaring inconsistencies that were first brought to Prof. Kamin's attention by a student? It seems clear that Burt's work, as well as that of Jensen and Herrnstein, was accepted by scientists and policy makers, and widely disseminated among the general population because they supported the widely held beliefs of these people. As Leon Kamin pointed out, "Every professor knew that his child was brighter than the ditch digger's..."

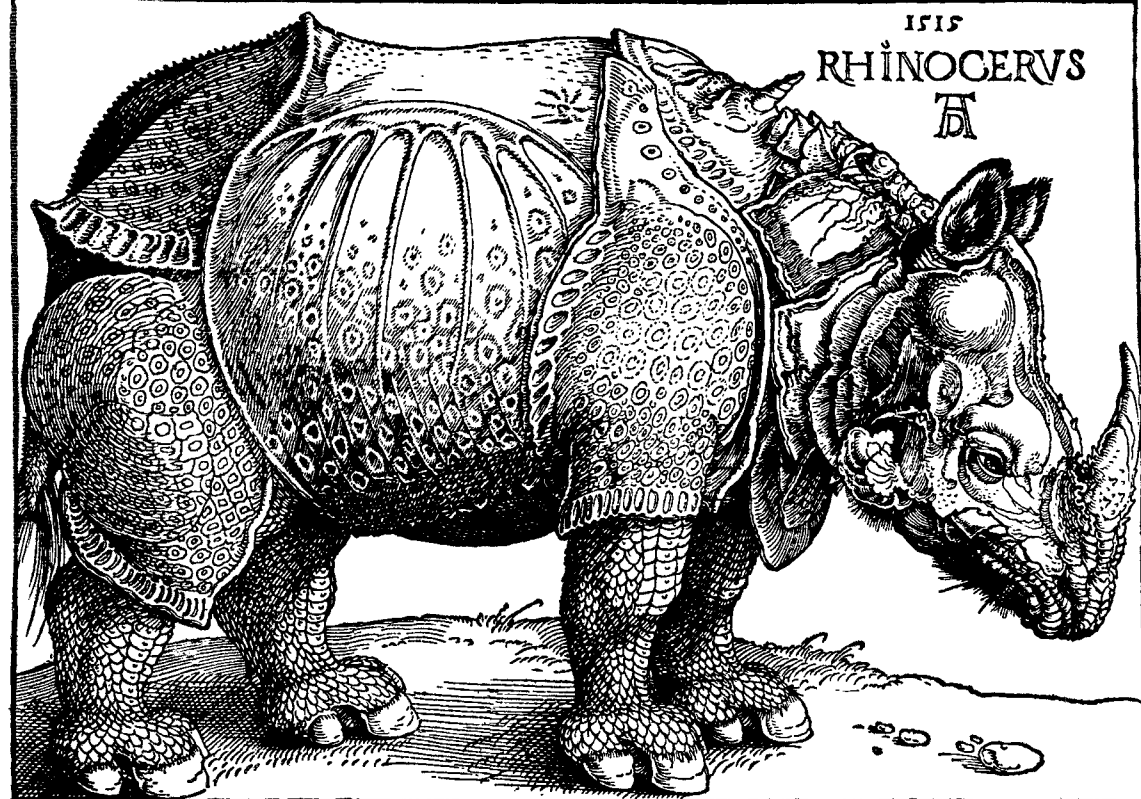
It is still difficult for us to accept that scientists are less than totally objective. But scientists born and reared in competitive societies grow up with biases that subtly and not so subtly affect their work.

The solution is not simple for it is not an isolated phenomena. The work of science like the work of a better society must become more of a collective responsibility.

Herb Schreier is a psychiatrist at Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

A sensible Christmas gift?

Nach Christgeburt/1913 Jar 21st. May hat man den großemchtigsten König Emanuel von Portugal/gen Lyabona aus India pracht/ ein solch lebendig Thier, das nennen sie Rhinoceros/Das ist hie mit all seiner g'stalt Absonderlich. Es hat ein farb wie ein gepfeckter Schildkröte/und ist von dicken schalen überlagert/ist sehr fett/und ist in der grös als der halffandte/aber niderlicher von baynen und sehr wehrhaftig es hat ein scharffstachel horn vorn auff der nassen/das des garbe es ja wissen wo es bey slaynen ist / das da ein Sieg Thier ist/des halffanden Todtfeindt. Der halffande firsche fast vdel/den wo es ihn ankompt/so laufft ihm das Thier mit dem kopff zwischen die fornen bayn /und reißt den halffanden unten am bauch auff/und er wüßte ihn des mag er sich nicht erwehren. dann das Thier ist also gewepnet/das ihm der halffande nichts thun kan. Sie sagen auch/das der Rhinoceros/Schudlfrayng/und auch Lustig / 19.



Last week, Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926): railway fireman, editor, union organizer, five-time Socialist party candidate for president.

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IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Staughton Lynd

The return of rule by injunction

The injunction is back.

Labor historians and old-time union organizers refer to the days when courts were forever enjoining strikes, picketing, and boycotts, as the era of "government by injunction." The Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 was supposed to put an end to government by injunction. It didn't.

An injunction is a court order that a judge can issue without even giving the party enjoined a chance to be heard. The judge need only be convinced that an emergency requires him to act without delay. An injunction issued without a hearing is called a temporary restraining order (TRO). After a certain number of days, the number depending on whether you are in state or federal court, the judge must vacate the TRO and hold a hearing to see whether a preliminary or permanent injunction should be issued.

An injunction names the persons or kinds of persons who must obey it. If a person or kind of person named by the injunction disobeys it, he or she is in contempt of court. It is not a defense to disobedience of an injunction that the injunction is illegal or unconstitutional. The law says that an injunction must be obeyed, whether or not it is illegal or unconstitutional, and failure to obey it is contempt, which can be punished by fine or imprisonment.

Probably the most famous injunction in American labor history was issued by a federal court in Chicago to put an end

to the Pullman Strike of 1894. The strike was a sympathy strike by members of the American Railway Union in support of the Pullman car workers. It was both peaceful and successful. Then, as related by Ray Ginger in his biography of ARU president and strike leader, Eugene Debs:

"In a crushing blow, Judges Peter Grosscup and William A. Woods of the federal court in Chicago issued an omnibus injunction against the ARU leaders. The previous Decoration Day, Judge Grosscup had said in a speech: 'The growth of labor organizations must be checked by law.' It was later shown that Judge Woods had accepted such important favors from the railroads that his impartiality was doubtful...The injunction prohibited the strike leaders from any action to aid the boycott [of Pullman cars]. They were forbidden to answer questions, to send telegrams. They were denied the right to urge men, by word of mouth, to join the boycott. Their constitutional rights to speak, write, and assemble freely, were ignored."

Debs and his fellow strike leaders ignored the injunction and continued to coordinate the strike. They were arrested for contempt of court, tried, convicted and sentenced to jail terms of three to six months. They came out of jail convinced that American workers needed a party of their own to combat government repression.

The Pullman injunction was typical of

injunctions in the period 1890-1930. The U.S. Supreme Court held that the president of the American Federation of Labor might constitutionally be enjoined from causing to be published the word "unfair." Lower federal courts issued injunctions against "abusive language," "annoying language," "indecent language," "bad language," "opprobrious epithets," and the use of the words "traitor" and "scab." One injunction ordered the officers of the United Mine Workers "and all other persons whomsoever" not to issue "any messages of encouragement or exhortation." Another outlawed "persuasion in the presence of three or more persons."

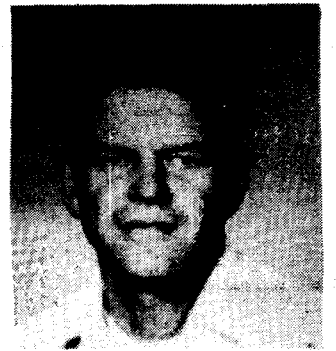
The problem about injunctions was and is that even if a court eventually decided that orders like those just described were improper, in the meantime one had to obey them or be sent to jail. During that time when picketing or even speaking was forbidden, a strike was likely to lose momentum and be lost.

In 1932, as a part of the upsurge that also produced the CIO, Congress passed a law sponsored by Senator Norris and Congressman LaGuardia that forbade federal courts from enjoining peaceful activity connected with a labor dispute. State courts could still issue injunctions to prevent actual violence. Federal courts, however, had to keep hands off, and unions were usually successful in getting injunction cases transferred from state to federal court.

In 1970 the Supreme Court, in a case called *Boys Markets* held that, notwithstanding the Norris-LaGuardia Act, a federal court might order a striking union to go back to work and to arbitration if the dispute was about a problem that the union had promised to arbitrate.

In 1973 a federal court in Pennsylvania, in a case called *Eazor Express*, held that when union members "wildcat," the union must use "all reasonable means at its disposal, both persuasive and punitive, to terminate the work stoppage" or else the employer can collect whatever money the strike cost him from the union treasury.

These decisions have created a new era of government by injunction.



Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, is doing legal work in Youngstown, Ohio. He and his wife Alice edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column will appear regularly.

In St. Louis, Local 600 of the Teamsters has gone into bankruptcy because it was unable to pay a \$5.8 million fine resulting from its defiance of a court order to stop an unauthorized strike. In the coal fields of Appalachia, union members went on strike this past summer to protest the injunctions that were bankrupting their treasuries and sending their leaders to jail. At the recent United Mine Workers convention, delegates flatly refused to consider a resolution that would have penalized locals for engaging in wildcat strikes. The measure died when not a single delegate offered to second the motion for adoption. Instead, the convention unanimously adopted a proposal that would give a local union a choice either to arbitrate a problem or to go on strike. UMW officers are now mandated to include such a change in the contract.

The best way to avoid injunctions is to keep a no-strike clause out of your contract. Injunctions these days are used mostly in strike situations where the contract provides for no strikes during the life of the contract. We need to avoid such contract language. One United Electrical Workers local has negotiated a contract in which it agrees to strike no more than five times a year!

Note: Readers who would like to share thoughts and experiences about the problem of injunctions are invited to write to this column.

Letters

A sign of maturity

Editor:

Congratulations! *In These Times* is a watershed for the socialist left by virtue of one simple fact—you have made a conscious choice to talk to American workers about issues from a socialist perspective in American English. This is not only a sign of maturity on the left, but also a qualitative step in our own collective political development.

For the past year I have been organizing in a small private hospital in Jamaica Plains, Mass. We recently lost a union election, but the undercurrents of resistance continue. We are a very diverse group—from South Boston ethnic to West Indian to university student.

So far the response to the paper has been excellent. My friend Barbara, who has decided to subscribe, summed it up: "I really like the paper; it gives you good hard facts and doesn't have any biases, except that it's socialist." She went on to explain that everything else she'd seen propagandizes you on every page. The paper showed her that socialists could have political integrity without condescension.

—Lew Friedland
Allston, Mass.

As a printer's daughter...

Editor:

Congratulations on your first issue and enclosed is a check for a subscription. I

had been doubtful of the possibility for you turning out to be clear, readable, entertaining and actually real live *American* socialists.

The length of each article is perfect. Nothing goes on for too long and things end within a page of one another for easier reading and none of that annoying page turning. The paper is well laid out and looks good. The "Album" concept is lovely.

As a printer's daughter I'd like to thank you for the overall typographical quality of the paper. Attention to detail on your part shows a respect for your readers.

"You must be a pinko breaker" was lovely and I hope your loving attention to American culture in all its permutations grows as successfully. We are such an interesting people.

The editorial on TV and elections was grand to read. I've been yelling that at Walter Chronkite every night for years. (I'm not ever talking to Eric Everyside anymore). Well and clearly put.

If your subscription rate was lower and if I weren't unemployed I'd buy many subscriptions for parents, friends, lovers and teachers. As it is, I'll just tell them about you till they're convinced to do it themselves.

Congratulations.

—Anita Diamant
Allston, Mass.

Unions not to blame

Editor:

As a worker in the construction trades I found your series on labor welcome and one more reason to read your paper.

David Moberg's article is a strong beginning. It realistically presents some of

the complexities of labor's situation.

One quarrel. Moberg follows Bluestone in the view that union workers' wages in "concentrated" enterprises are responsible for lower real income of non-union workers elsewhere. This is a serious issue. As a careful reporter, Moberg should at least have solicited other opinion on this point rather than serving up Bluestone's view as the last word. There is no empirical evidence substantiating that view. It is purely deductive.

Bluestone's deduction flies in the face of his own figures and others Moberg presents. Bluestone is cited by Moberg to the effect that given trade union organization, workers' wages in "competitive" enterprises are about the same as those in the "concentrated" ones. On the other hand the figures show significant disparities between organized and non-union workers. They also show the strong stake that blacks and women have in unions. From the figures presented, the major difference in wages corresponds with whether workers are or are not in unions. This cuts across "competitive" and "concentrated" lines.

It is half-ass, especially for socialists, to be content with a hypothesis that lays responsibility for low wages on trade unions that succeed in getting their own members higher wages, while not testing hypotheses that place responsibility with the shenanigans of capitalists.

On those all too frequent occasions when I plunge blissfully into the marketplace, riddling the economy with my hard fought-for wages, I'm a running refutation of Bluestone's hypothesis that I am the cause of other people's poverty.

Keep up the good work, especially your coverage of the labor movement.

—Ed Kveskin
Member, Local Union No. 1
Chicago District Council of Carpenters

Don't be cautious

Editor:

Your first edition reflects a certain coming-of-age of American radical thinking, and we are heartened by it. We hope that your vision is to carry on the struggle against injustice, exploitation and dehumanization for decades, or generations, to come. But on the other hand, we don't expect a timid gradualist approach that puts off any assertive action into the foggy distance of "when the time is right." At times caution and careful deliberation are crucial, but when these become fixed editorial policy this spells the atrophy of and certain death for a vital leftist press.

—Frank Lortie
—Marylu Lortie
Sacramento, Calif.

A common focus?

Editor:

I am very excited about the paper—the tone, scope and depth are just what I had hoped for but could never have articulated. I have no qualms at all about the length of the pieces, they are readable and with the reading (sustained and regular) the theory and analysis (the position) will begin to take shape within the audience. That is what a newspaper does that no amount of theoretical studies can ever do. If it works it becomes a crucial factor in developing socialist hegemony—I am more optimistic about *In These Times* becoming a common focus of perception and attention than I have been about anything I've yet seen.

—Ron Perrin
Missoula, Mont.

Alan Wolfe

Analyzing Carter appointments beyond a 'Rainbow Cabinet'

President-watching: Three non-cabinet appointments will give us the first real clues to the Carter administration's direction.

Considering the amount of attention given them, candidates for president generally reveal almost nothing about themselves. Jimmy Carter, like John F. Kennedy before him, assumes his powerful office largely unknown. Will he be a populist, rallying the poor and middle class against the "interests," or does he have an all-too-cozy relationship with those interests? The probable reasons for speculation surrounding Carter's early appointments is that these acts will give first glimpses into the man we have elected.

But which appointees are the most indicative? Here the press in general has done a disservice. There has been, for example, a lively discussion in the newspapers about Carter's choice for secretary of state, when this position is of minor importance at best. Henry Kissinger, one tends to forget, assumed his power when William Rogers was secretary. Since 1960 the common pattern is for "strong" presidents to appoint "weak" secretaries of state, and Carter will surely follow in this tradition. All we can learn from this appointment is how Carter approaches finding figureheads, not what he thinks about foreign policy.

Furthermore, the same could be said for the entire cabinet, every single one of whose members will be picked for symbolic significance, particularly with respect to blacks and women. The cabinet may look like a rainbow coalition, but its membership will not reveal much about policy.

Three non-cabinet positions are among the most important. These are the head of the Office of Management and Bud-

get, the national security adviser to the President and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The OMB used to be called the Bureau of the Budget. In the single most important domestic policy of his administration, former President Nixon sought to bring the generally independent bureau under his personal control by "reorganizing" its functions and appointing Roy Ash, former head of Litton Industries, as its head.

Before Watergate stopped the whole process, Nixon was on his way toward a consolidation of state power unique in American history. If he had won the bitter administrative battle over OMB, not only would Congress have been stripped of its few remaining areas of initiative, but the whole administrative system would have been at the mercy of this one office in its center. The details of the internal struggle over OMB are still not known, but it is known that the battles over this agency are far from over.

►Enter Bert Lance?

Every indication we have is that Carter will make some sort of attempt to finish what Nixon began. During the campaign, Carter's one dominant issue was "governmental reorganization," which is a code word for OMB. The idea of reducing sprawling governmental agencies into one coordinating mechanism is vintage Nixonism and this is what Carter has proudly pledged to do. Hence the reports that the OMB head will be Bert Lance, a conservative Georgia banker, should be taken quite seriously. The "leak" on Lance's name could only have come from someone close to Carter and it represents a

trial balloon to see what the reaction will be.

The difficulties with Lance are two. First, his bank has made extensive loans to the Carter family business, too reminiscent of Nixon and his cronyism. Releasing his name early is designed to see if the air will clear. Second, Lance is far more conservative than anyone can imagine. If Carter can make this appointment, it will indicate that he has a blank check for cutbacks in domestic spending and budget-balancing.

No final announcements are expected until mid-December. If Lance is named OMB head, the lesson will be clear: Carter can proceed in a conservative, Nixon-like direction. If the name is someone else, like Brookings' Charles Schulze, who was the head of the Budget Bureau under Kennedy, then we can conclude opposition to Lance was too strong. The key point is that the "advice and consent" function on appointments like this one take place mostly behind the scenes. Media discussion about which "spokesman" said what are only the tip of the policy-making iceberg in Washington.

The second key appointment is national security adviser. If Nixon made OMB into a key spot, it was Kennedy who fashioned the national security position. When McGeorge Bundy held this post, the key decisions on Vietnam were all centered in his office, neither in the State Department nor in the Joint Chiefs. When Henry Kissinger held it, its control over all foreign policy-making became even more centralized. Considering his closeness to the Kennedy and Nixon pattern of revealing as little about key deci-



Alan Wolfe lives in Berkeley, Calif., and is the author of *The Seamy Side of Democracy* (McKay).

sions as possible, Carter will surely opt for a strong national security adviser, since the position is independent of congressional scrutiny.

The inside name for adviser is Zbigniew Brzezinski. The one mark against him is that as a European and a cold war political scientist he bears too much resemblance to Kissinger, his Harvard classmate and longtime rival. Indeed a better replica of Kissinger could hardly have been invented. Nonetheless, Brzezinski remains ideal for this position. He has been Carter's most influential adviser during the campaign. His "sponsor" is David Rockefeller, as Nelson was Kissinger's. He has been the executive director of the Trilateral Commission and wrote Carter's most extensive foreign policy speech of June 23. He is far more likely to be appointed to a less visible post than secretary of state, and national security adviser seems logical.

►Close to Wall Street.

The resignation of George Bush has left the head of the CIA open for Carter. The situation is like 1961, when Kennedy shocked the liberals in his entourage by naming John McCone to replace Allen Dulles.

As a partisan Republican, Bush was anathema to the national security managers who see themselves as above party. This appointment would allow Carter to show his devotion to the cause of bipartisan professionalized foreign policy by picking someone close to the Wall Street bankers, who would then recover from their loss of an inside position during the Nixon years.

Ira Schor

Despite the obstacles, college is a good bet for workers

Encouraging people to value and to demand college is one small way to deal with hard times. It's all that a rich society should do and our society fails to do.

Does college open doors to jobs? Until recently, the answer was an easy yes, but benefits of a higher degree have declined dramatically. In the '60s, a B.A. guaranteed a job and the campus was an exciting place to be. Now, with public employment shrinking and with millions of working people getting through college, even a Ph.D. may no longer suffice to find work.

In this situation, should working people go to college?

I think the answer is yes, if we take a long-range view of the meaning of universal access to college. In this new de-

cade of advancing conservatism and in this depressed economy, there still are good reasons to pursue a formal education.

While education is hard work, it can pay off in several ways. Self-development is one option college offers workers who want to change their daily grind. Because the urge to learn is uneven in a person's lifetime, when someone feels ready for schooling, the time should be seized. This is especially important for working-class students whose learning opportunities are scarce. They have less money and less preparation. They carry around more self-doubt and resentment about academics

because of what school has already done to them. Even though much of college will continue to miseducate, motivated people will find creative and intellectual spaces open on campus.

Those spaces, widened by the mass movements of the '60s, are narrowing. Colleges facing cutbacks are tightening a noose around the necks of workers, making it harder to get in, to stay in and to graduate. Yet, those who make it through can get a chance for self-growth that was just not widely available in the past. All the groups previously tracked away from college knew, from the outside, that higher education had a wide impact on an entire life. Women, minorities, workers are continuing to turn to college now, when they think of changing their lives. It's one way to become a more complete human being, a goal shared by growing numbers of working people. Only elite groups were allowed to consider expanding their horizons through college in the past. The time has come for worker/students to act on their own impulses to learn.

Besides self-development, college can offer material benefits. In a tight job market, college degrees give you a fighting

chance. In fact, hard times may be the worst to be without credentials. Employers now have the power to escalate the credentials demanded for a new job, promotion or transfer. Each missing credential is a weapon against a worker. "Credentialism" elevates job requirements without increasing pay or the difficulty of the work. This nationally practiced fraud retards a worker's natural demands for advancement and keeps wages low. With nearly 75 percent of the workforce nonunionized, and with many unions on the defensive, the individual need for degrees is now great. College is a place to acquire defensive credentials, especially for minorities and for women, who are the first to be credentialled out of jobs.

In the short run, a college degree helps in contending with the economy's escalating demands. And higher education may bring more results when the economy again expands. But until the upswing returns, getting a degree will become harder even as it becomes more important. Runaway inflation plus loss of overtime, layoffs, and short-time eat away the extra income the workers would use to attend college. Cutbacks in school



Ira Schor teaches English at Staten Island Community College (CUNY), and has spoken and written on education.

budgets lower the quality of education offered on campus, further discouraging college attendance. Rising tuition, stiffer admission and retention standards, and higher commuting costs are more obstacles placed in working people's path.

The easier access to college that prevailed for over a decade is ending. Women, minorities and workers who saw the gates of college flash open, now hear them slamming shut. Over a thousand junior colleges stand waiting. An army of eager and unemployed teachers is ready. A great mass of working people wants in. Yet the great ark, with room enough for everyone demanding her and his right to college, is being drydocked. The situation is irrational and destructive.

Campuses do have some things working people need. But the depression mentality discourages people from meeting their needs or demanding their rights. The crisis gets blamed on the workers, who are accused of producing too little and consuming too much. Encouraging people to value and to demand college is one small way to deal with hard times. Such encouragement can make clear all that a rich society should do for its people and all that our society fails to do.

Editorial

IN THESE TIMES

Swine flu: a shot of health politics

In October 1975, David Lewis, a private in the army, died at Fort Dix, N.J., the victim of a disease identified as Swine Flu. In the 13 months since Lewis died there has not been a single verified reoccurrence of the disease, although a man in Missouri who was slightly ill in late October may have suffered from the same virus.

Meanwhile, in a non-epidemic year, some 10,000 persons have died of the A-Victoria strain of flu. This was considered a serious public health problem, but normally would have elicited no special activity on the part of the federal government.

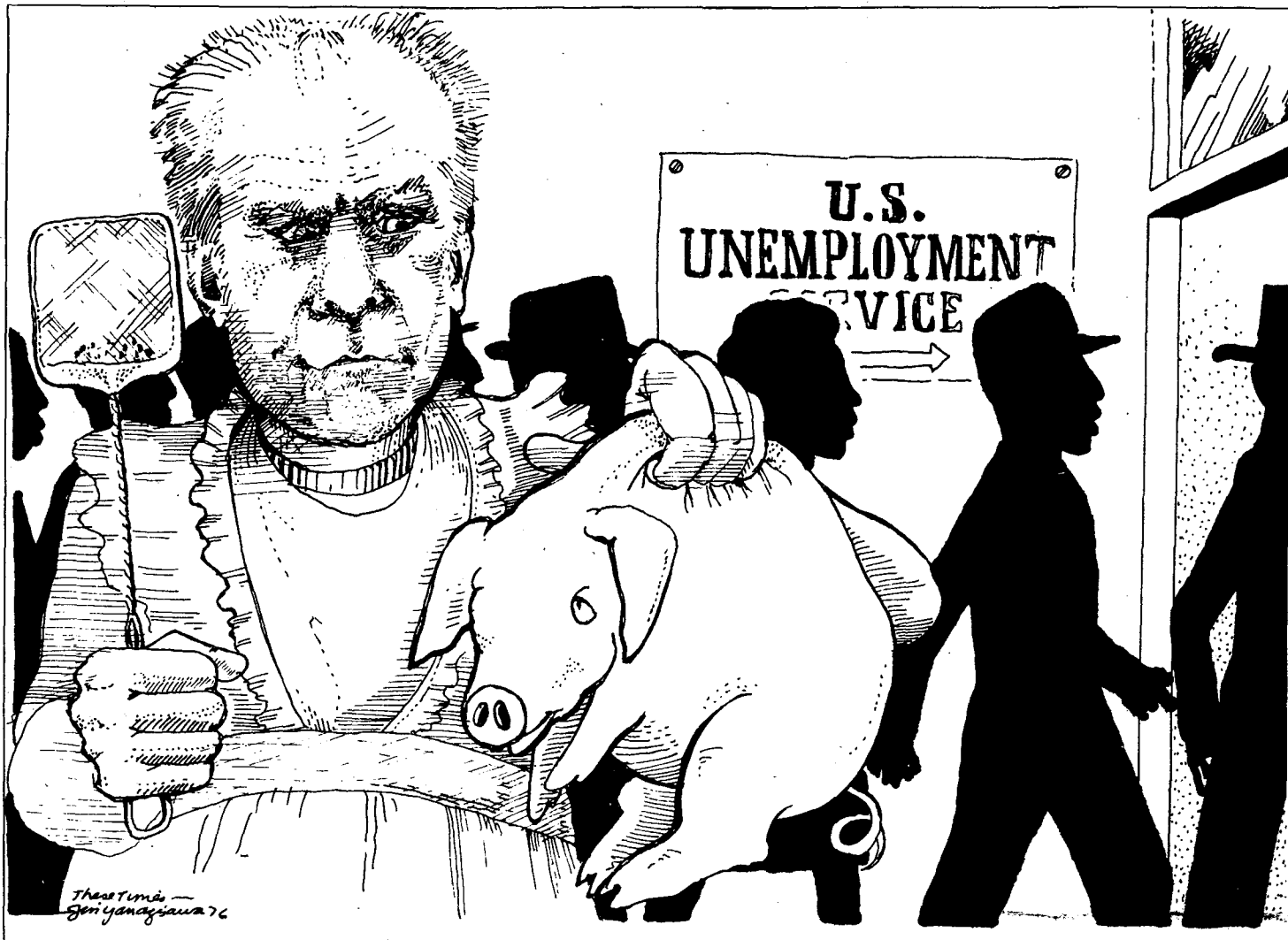
Yet, as we all know, the Ford administration seized on the one death, and on the memory of the flu epidemic of 1918, which killed more than 500,000 Americans and some 20 million people throughout the world, to rush through Congress an emergency appropriation of \$135 million for a vaccination program for some 200 million Americans.

Both the scope of the program and the speed with which it was put through are unprecedented. So is the apparent concern for the health and safety of the American people.

It is particularly suspect because the best available scientific evidence indicates that there is probably no connection between the 1918 "killer epidemic" influenza and swine flu, or that swine flu itself is a serious disease among humans.

Normally, even when there is clear proof of danger to public health, the government moves slowly, even grudgingly, especially if the disease is caused by industrial conditions or by-products and might be expensive to counteract. In this case, on the basis of very little evidence and in the face of strong medical opinion that the new flu is unlikely to reach anything close to epidemic proportions, and that even if it does the vaccine is unlikely to be effective, the program was pushed through with uncommon dispatch.

Of course, the vaccine is not bad in itself. Even if swine flu does not exist as a disease affecting humans, the A-Victoria-75 flu is a serious health hazard, and the vaccine being used is also designed to be effective against A-Victoria.



No one should complain that we are finally being treated to a bit of preventive medicine.

It is only when the leading causes of death in the United States are looked at that the cynicism and disregard for the public interest of our government leaders becomes strikingly apparent. In the 19th century millions of Americans died of infectious diseases like tuberculosis, typhoid and cholera. Now, with vastly improved sanitary conditions, these diseases are almost entirely under control. But now a whole series of new diseases caused by industrial and social conditions of corporate capitalism are the major causes of death.

The most striking increases are in heart

diseases caused by hypertension, preventable strokes, and cancer, especially of the lungs and colon. In addition, though not directly a major cause of death, mental disease and drug use, including alcoholism, are major illnesses.

Not all of these diseases are immediately susceptible to preventative treatment—the social system as a whole will have to be transformed before we can substantially reduce hypertension or mental disease. But certainly industrial cancers, which have been steadily and sharply rising, could largely be prevented through a rigorous program of inspection and regulation of industry. And there are many other occupational diseases that could also be prevented.

The swine flu program received an initial grant of \$135 million and will end up costing the taxpayers a good deal more (because, at the very least, state and local governments will have to pay 70 percent of the cost of shots).

Compare this to the \$170 million that is the total budget for both research and enforcement in occupational health each year. A government that put the people's health first would spend many times this amount.

If it were doing so, then the money spent on the swine flu vaccination program would not be so transparently callous.

PBB again: who controls the controllers?

The excellent article on PBB's in Michigan *In These Times*, Nov. 22-29) states that the "Toxic Substances Control Act does not speak to the question of the same company making feed nutrient and fire retardant at the same location." It should be added that it does not speak to a host of other vital questions that concern the health and safety of the public.

For example: What measures now exist to prevent other disastrous mixing errors, whether in animal feed or human food? It might be enlightening to send a reporter to the feed company to find out what kind of chemical analysis and control procedures exist on incoming materials. Were the people in charge professionally qualified to do the job? (It seems to me, as a chemist, that anyone familiar with that process should have noticed at once a great difference in color, texture, and odor between the wrong (toxic) material, PBB's, and the right one, magnesium oxide.)

There is a vast area of concern here

that should involve not only setting up legal fail-safe procedures for manufacturers and shippers but also for receivers and users, with responsibility for professional supervision of testing, packaging, and labeling well spelled out. The consumer should be protected at every stage of the manufacturing, compounding, packaging, and distributing chain.

A similar line of reasoning dictates the setting up of techniques, tests, and controls on the use of pesticides and other agricultural chemicals so that farm workers and the consuming public do not get "excessive" doses. (And there is another domain, not discussed in this letter, of a virtual complete lack of consumer protection in commonly used materials such as paint removers, cleaning compounds, solvents, etc.)

Other questions: Why is industry so slow to learn from the experience of others? What measures exist to insure that disasters are learned about and not repeated? For example, the toxic effects of PCB's (very closely related to PBB's)

have been known since the 1930s and especially since the mid '60s. A catastrophe in Japan in '69, due to PCB's, affected over 1,000 people in ways similar to the Michigan PBB's experience.

Yet, we have no mechanism for insuring that companies handling and using these materials learn from previous disasters or institute safeguards to prevent similar or related accidents. The concept of industrial safety and hazard prevention must be enormously broadened and ways and means found for the dissemination of information, for setting up necessary safeguards and inspections so that the lessons of experience are learned. Industrial accidents and disasters must not be regarded fatalistically, as inevitable, but as the result of error, poor practice, and the failure to learn from experience.

Responsibility must be assigned and the lack of it subjected to appropriate sanctions. (This line of thought is not meant to supplant that which deals with replacing toxic substances with safer ones;

the latter is obviously a more fundamental approach. However, many toxic substances will be with us for a long time and society should do the best job possible with them.)

Finally, there is the question of morale. Wherever it is low, the danger of serious error is increased. While poor morale may follow inevitably from the mode of organization and management of modern industry, it is nevertheless true that other workers too and the general public suffer from its consequences. Far from putting the onus on labor, the whole question of good working conditions, worker participation and morale should be reopened on the basis of the need for safer industrial practice and the elimination of accidents.

—Lester H. Arond

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